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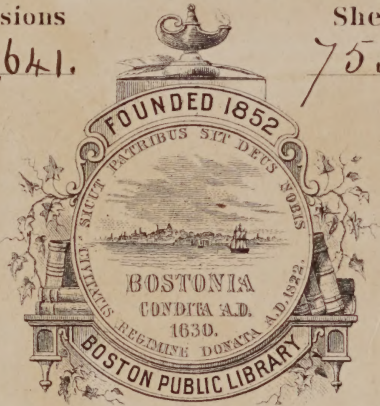
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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE
CHARTER AND CONDUCT
OF THE
SOCIETY

FOR THE

Propagation of the GOSPEL in Foreign Parts;

DESIGNED TO SHEW

Their NON-CONFORMITY to each other.

WITH

REMARKS on the MISTAKES of *EAST AP-
THORP*, M. A. Missionary at *Cambridge*,
in Quoting and Representing the Sense of said
Charter, &c.

AS ALSO

Various incidental Reflections relative to the CHURCH of
ENGLAND, and the State of Religion in NORTH-
AMERICA, particularly in NEW-ENGLAND.

By *JONATHAN MAYHEW*, D.D.

Pastor of the West-Church in BOSTON.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED

APTHORP'S CONSIDERATIONS.

—Brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our LI-
BERTY which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into
BONDAGE: To whom we gave place by subjection, no not for an hour;
that the truth of the GOSPEL might CONTINUE WITH YOU.

Ap. PAUL to the *Galatians*.

BOSTON, in NEW-ENGLAND, printed:
LONDON, reprinted for W. NICOLL, in
St. Paul's Church-Yard.

M DCC LXIII.

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T O

All the sincere Lovers of Truth, Righteousness, and undefiled Religion (of whatsoever Denomination amongst Christians) into whose Hands the following OBSERVATIONS may fall, whether in NEW-ENGLAND or elsewhere, they are, with due Respect and Humility, INSCRIBED
by

The AUTHOR.

T H E

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

TH E R E are some men who write, and others who read, controversy, merely from a wrangling disposition ; without any regard to truth, right, or the importance of the matters contested. That this is a turn of mind unbecoming a Christian, and even a man, needs not be said. Others have an utter dislike to all disputes relative to the subject of religion, because they are Sceptics ; thinking there is nothing of this kind worth disputing about. Only thus far they are fully persuaded, that it is a pity the world should be disturbed, by such trifling debates, in the peaceable pursuit of pleasure, or of solid gain ; very gravely condemning all disputants as quarrelsome people that would set the world in a flame, and making no small merit of their own indifference to all religion in general. A third sort are those good men, who sincerely love and practise religion themselves ; but yet are such great lovers of peace, of such a timid make, and so apprehensive of the bad effects of contention, that they think it best never to enter into debates on religion, or any thing relative to it, on any occasion ; and condemn those who do so, as at best imprudent, ill-advised persons.

But, surely there may be just and sufficient cause for disputing, if religion itself is of any great importance. We are enjoined to contend earnestly for the faith : Nor are even the means, modes, and

circumstantial of religion, wholly unworthy in all cases to be the subject of controversy. The epistles of the apostle PAUL, who would not have the Gentiles troubled about circumcision, or other Jewish rites; and exhorted them to stand fast in their LIBERTY, instead of submitting to any yoke of BONDAGE, sufficiently evince this. And if the good, peaceable gentlemen who were mentioned above, are left to exercise their own liberty and discretion, either to read or not read disputes; one would think, they should allow others the like liberty and discretion as to writing: No one will compel them to read, contrary to their inclination——

The author of the following pages supposes the subject of them to be of real importance, not only to the general interest of religion in AMERICA, but particularly in NEW-ENGLAND. In which respect he is very far from being singular in his opinion. Indeed, none besides those who think that our Forefathers separated from the Church of ENGLAND without just grounds; and that the differences subsisting betwixt the people of that communion and ours, are quite immaterial, can suppose this a needless controversy. The prosperity, if not the very being, of our NEW-ENGLAND Churches is essentially concerned in it; as may appear in the sequel.

An evident occasion was lately given for some person or other amongst us to write upon it, by a Gentleman on the other side of the Question, who has attempted, as he thought proper to express himself, “to determine it *once for all*, by authentic “vouchers.” The author of the ensuing pages pretends to no such great matters; and would have been sincerely glad, if some person of greater abilities and more leisure would have saved him this trouble. But some of his friends, perhaps partial in his favour, expressed a desire that he would take so fair an opportunity to communicate
some

some of his thoughts to the public, on the point in question. In a word, his aversion to controversy has, on this occasion, given way to his regard to truth and justice, backed in this manner.

Though he really believes the constitution, worship and discipline of the Church of ENGLAND much less agreeable to the word of GOD than our own; yet he has an high veneration for many persons of that communion, as persons of great learning and wisdom, candor and piety. He therefore requests that nothing which here follows, may be considered as a general reflection upon the people of that persuasion. He is also sensible that the SOCIETY, &c. are a very respectable BODY, and to be treated with all the regard that is consistent with truth and justice. But he cannot think, an implicit faith is to be placed in any BODY of uninspired men, however great or good; or that there is any indecency in examining into some of the Conduct of the said SOCIETY, and comparing it with their CHARTER; that so, if there is any real inconsistency betwixt them, it may appear. This he takes to be the undoubted right of every BRITISH subject, as well as his own. But though he proposes to lay some of his sentiments on this subject before the world, in simplicity and with freedom; yet he declares, it is by no means his intention to charge that venerable BODY with any *wilful, known* misconduct, or improper application of monies: And therefore he requests the candor of his readers, that no advantage may be taken of any incautious expression that may escape him in the pursuit of his argument, even though it should at first view have the appearance of such an accusation; for it is not designed as such.

If his observations are futile in themselves, or if there is any indecency in the manner of his proposing them, as he hopes there is not, the dishonour

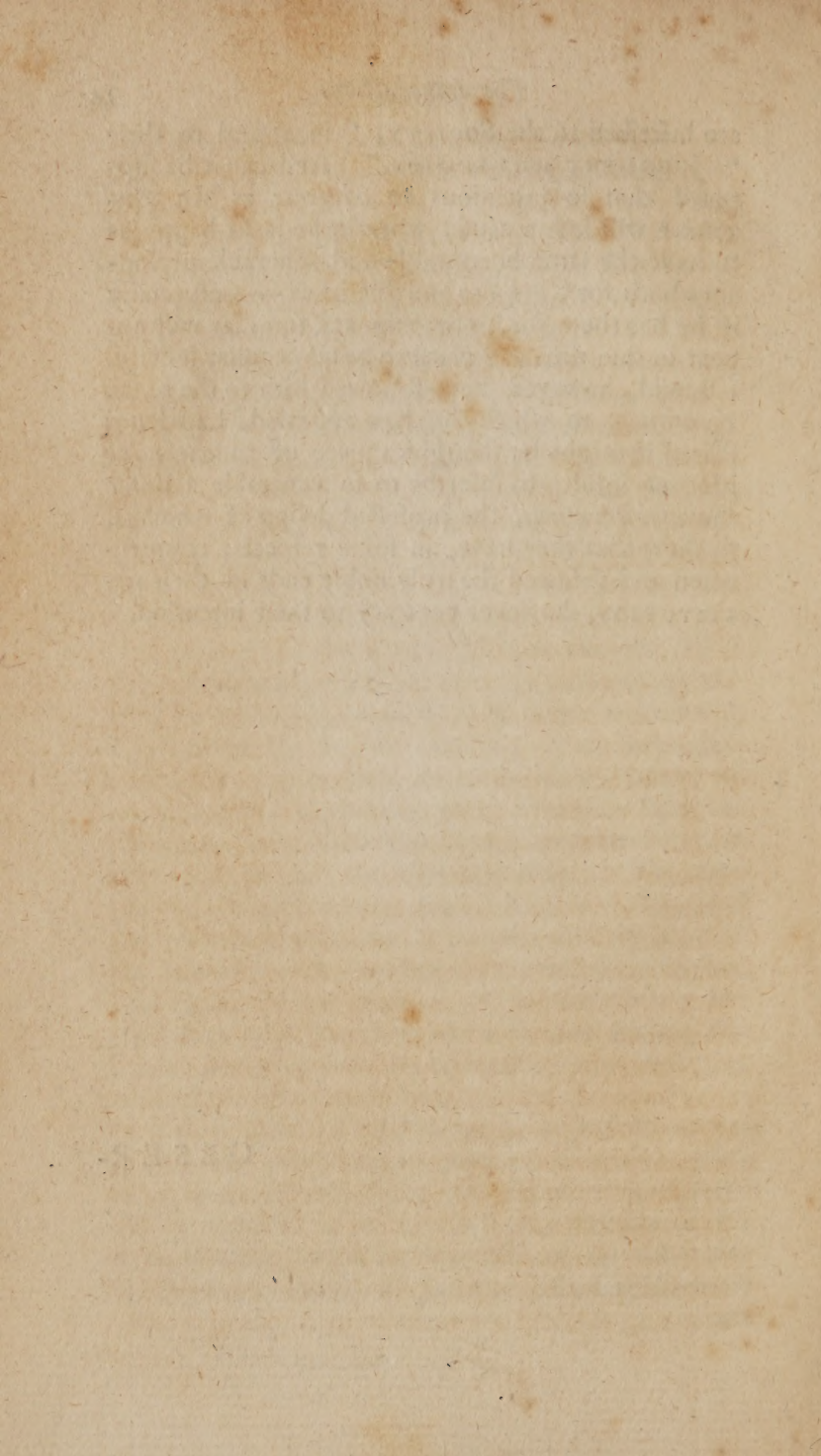
will be to himself: And he even wishes others to judge with the same freedom and impartiality that he intends to write.

The reverend Mr. NOAH HOBART of *Fairfield*, in a book entitled *A second Address to the Members of the EPISCOPAL SEPARATION IN NEW-ENGLAND**, entered into this argument concerning the SOCIETY's conduct; which he handled in a manner becoming both a truly *Christian Bishop* and a *Patriot*; and deserves the thanks of his country, as well as the high esteem of his flock. His book has been of service to me; and wherever I make use of it in the following sheets, proper acknowledgments are made. In short, Mr. HOBART wrote so solidly and judiciously upon this subject, that it would hardly have been needful to say any thing farther upon it at this time, except in conformity to that maxim, That every thing *newly published* on a controverted point, must be *answered*;—unless it is either convincing and satisfactory to the *knowing*, or so mean and trifling, that even the *ignorant* are in no danger of being imposed upon thereby. Probably there are not many, who know any thing of the matter, that think the *former* the true character of Mr. AP-THORP's *Considerations*, &c. And if I supposed they deserved the *latter*, I should think my time ill employed in endeavouring to prevent their having *that effect*. They seem to me to hold such a *medium* betwixt evidence to the wise, and glaring absurdity to the foolish, as to render some strictures upon them very expedient.

This Gentleman's discretion is, at least in *one* respect, very conspicuous; perhaps in many. Having taken the defence of the SOCIETY upon himself in quality of an *advocate*, the validity of his plea is then humbly submitted to his venerable CLIENTS, in quality of JUDGES. His *Considerations*
are

are inscribed to the SOCIETY, “in appeal to their
“ JUDGMENT and DECISION.” And can it be sup-
posed that so ingenious an *advocate* as Mr. AP-
THORP will lose a cause, wherein he is so happy as
to have the same honourable and venerable person-
ages both for CLIENTS and JUDGES?—especially
if he has them for his WITNESSES too; as will ap-
pear in due time and place to be his peculiar felicity.
I should, however, have followed him to the SAME
TRIBUNAL to which he has appealed, had I not
feared it might be thought a piece of rudeness, or
kind of insult, to inscribe to so venerable a BODY
those *Observations*, the professed design of which is,
to shew that they have, in some respects, counter-
acted and defeated the truly noble ends of their IN-
STITUTION, however contrary to their intention.

OBSER-



OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

CHARTER AND CONDUCT

OF THE

SOCIETY, &c.

SECTION I.

The QUESTION stated.

THE author of the following pages desires to have what he disputes about, relative to the *charter*, SOCIETY, and their *missionaries*, clearly understood in the first place. He apprehends there is no ground for controversy as to religious liberty, or the natural and legal right which protestants of all denominations have, in any part of his Majesty's dominions, to worship God in their own way respectively, without molestation.

Nor is the question, whether any person or persons in Great-Britain have a right, considered in their private capacity, if they think it expedient, to encourage and propagate episcopacy in America, by transmitting money to build churches here, to support missions and schools, or the like. Whatever our sentiments may be about the church of England, we are not so vain as to assume a right of dictating to them the manner in which they shall,

or

or shall not bestow their charity; or in any sort to controul them herein. This is said with reference to people in England, considered in their private capacity, as was intimated before.

Again: The question is not, whether that very respectable Body corporate, *the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts*, are to judge for themselves in what particular places, and under what circumstances, their charity is to be employed, conformable to the true design of their charter. They must, in the nature of the thing, judge for themselves in this respect, if they act with integrity, according to the nature of the trust reposed in them; which is not disputed. Though as this is a matter of public concernment, in which the civil as well as religious interest of the King's subjects in America is nearly concerned; other people have a right to give their opinion about the manner in which that charitable fund is employed; whether agreeably to the intent of the charter, or not; and even publicly to remonstrate against any misapplications of it, whether through mis-information, or any other supposeable means, in order to a reformation of such abuses, if real. Moreover;

There is no dispute, but that the venerable Society have a right to plant churches, to support missions and schools, &c. in many of the British American colonies; or whether this is in conformity to the intent of their charter. No one that has ever read it, can possibly make a doubt of this; or imagine that the Society's care and charity ought to be confined to the heathen slaves in, or the savages bordering on, the plantations.

But then it is supposed by many persons, that there are some of these American colonies, whose religious state is such, as renders them improper objects of this charity; and consequently, that
I
whatever

whatever has been done by the Society in supporting episcopal missions in them, is a misapplication of that part of their fund, which has been employed in this way ; to the neglect, prejudice and injury of other colonies, the Negroes and Indians, who were unquestionably proper objects of their charity.

This, therefore, is the main question now proposed for a free and candid discussion ; Whether the planting episcopal churches, supporting missions and schools, &c. in certain parts of America, particularly in New-England, in the manner, and under the circumstances in which this has been, and still is done by the Society, is conformable to the true design of their institution, according to their charter ; or a deviation therefrom, and consequently a misapplication of their fund ?

This is a question of no small importance : And it can be determined only by comparing the manner and circumstances in which the Society have planted churches, supported missions, &c. in these parts, with their charter itself. And all who are capable of understanding the charter, which is very plain, and who are apprized of the facts and circumstances aforesaid, may be deemed competent judges of the merits of this cause.

That part of the charter which explains the design of the institution, will be produced in the next section. In the mean time it may be observed, that the ingenious Mr. *Apthorp* has proposed a certain question for discussion, or rather to be “ determined once for all,” which was probably never thought of before ; and is indeed hardly intelligible. It is this, “ Whether the Society—conform to the design of their incorporation, by maintaining episcopal churches in the *settled towns and villages* of North-America : or whether they have not misapplied a fund originally *limited to the conversion* of

“ of the *heathens*.*” This he speaks of as a very interesting question to “ the Missionaries and their “ congregations.” Possibly it may be so. But what does the gentleman mean by the *settled towns and villages of North-America* ? Is this designed in opposition to *unsettled*, or *uninhabited* towns and villages here ? I know of none such : But if there were any, who ever supposed that it was expected the Society should *maintain episcopal churches* in such, but not in the *inhabited* towns and villages ? It were hard indeed, to confine the pious labours of the missionaries to places without inhabitants !——Especially while there are so many *settled* towns and villages in North America, Indian as well as English, where they might be useful. But by the disjunction which he makes, it seems as if by *settled* towns, &c. he meant places inhabited by English subjects and professed Christians ; for the Society’s employing their charitable fund in order to the *conversion of the heathens*, is the other part of the disjunction ; and so stands in direct opposition to *maintaining episcopal churches in the settled towns and villages here*. But if this is what he means by *settled* towns, &c. the question seems at best very vague and indeterminate : For some of these towns and villages have all along had ministers of other protestant communions in them ; others have not. And it was proper, one would think, that the gentleman should have let us know which of these he intended. If he meant the latter only ; and intended that the society rightly applied their fund in maintaining episcopal churches in *them*, as well as in the conversion of the heathen, it is allowed ; there is no controversy as to this. But if he meant the former also ; and that the Society rightly apply

* *Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society*, &c. p. 1.

their fund in maintaining episcopal churches in places where other protestant churches were before settled, and the administration of God's word and ordinances provided for, then indeed he opposes us. But, on any supposition, his disjunction is extremely lame and imperfect. And how *interesting* soever his question may be to the *Missionaries and their congregations*; yet, as he has stated it, the *established* ministers and churches of New-England will not probably think themselves much concerned in it. For if the question is determined only in the same loose, vague manner in which it is proposed, it can do little good or hurt to any cause, even though it should be thus determined *once for all*.

SECTION II.

Part of the Charter, with Observations upon it, shewing the true design of the Society's institution.

THE first thing requisite in order to a right determination of the question, Whether the Society have deviated from the design of their institution or not, is to shew what that design was. And to this end an appeal must be made to their charter, granted by King WILLIAM III. in the 13th of his reign, *anno* 1701. The preamble of which clearly expresses that design, if considered all together. The whole preamble is therefore here subjoined, without the omission or addition of a single word; only such clauses as are especially necessary to a right understanding of its design, are printed in a different character.

“WILLIAM

“ WILLIAM the Third, by the Grace of
 “ GOD, &c.

“ I. **W**HEREAS we are credibly informed, that
 “ in many of our plantations, colonies and
 “ factories beyond seas, belonging to our kingdom
 “ of England, the *provision* for ministers is *very*
 “ *mean*; and many others of our said plantations,
 “ colonies and factories, are *wholly destitute and un-*
 “ *provided* of a maintenance for ministers, and the
 “ *public worship* of God; and for lack of *support*
 “ and *maintenance* for such, many of our loving
 “ subjects do want the administration of God’s
 “ word and sacraments, and seem to be abandon-
 “ ed to *atheism and infidelity*; and also for want of
 “ *learned and orthodox* ministers to instruct our said
 “ loving subjects in the principles of TRUE RELI-
 “ GION, divers *Romish* priests and Jesuits are the
 “ more encouraged to pervert and draw over our
 “ said loving subjects to *Popish superstition and ido-*
 “ *latry*.

“ II. And whereas we think it our duty, as
 “ much as in us lies, to promote the glory of God,
 “ by the instruction of our people in the CHRIS-
 “ TIAN RELIGION; and that it will be highly con-
 “ ductive for accomplishing *those ends*, that a suffi-
 “ cient *maintenance* be provided for an *orthodox*
 “ clergy to live amongst them, and that such *other*
 “ provision be made, as may be necessary for the
 “ *propagation of the GOSPEL in those parts*.

“ III. And whereas we have been well assured,
 “ that if we would be graciously pleased to erect
 “ and settle a corporation for the receiving, ma-
 “ naging, and disposing of the charity of our loving
 “ subjects, divers persons would be induced to
 “ extend their charity to the *uses and purposes afore-*
 “ *said*:

“ IV. Know

“ IV. Know ye therefore, that we have, for the
 “ *considerations aforesaid*, and for the better and
 “ more orderly carrying on of the *said charitable*
 “ *purposes*,” &c.

The following observations are submitted to the candid reader's judgment.

1. Nothing is to be supposed the object, or any part of the object, of this charitable and royal institution, but what plainly appears to be really so, from the very words of the charter. Even though it were certain that those persons to whom it was granted, had, at the very time, some farther views and ends in obtaining it, besides those which are expressed, or plainly implied; yet the words of the charter itself must determine and limit the sense of the royal *Grantor*, and consequently the legal power conferred on the noble and reverend *Grantees*, the Society. It was *only* for those purposes that are particularly expressed, not any private or secret ones, which they might possibly have had in their own minds, that they were incorporated.

2. It appears that the British plantations, &c. were really the primary, more immediate object of this institution: or the King's subjects. In which term, subjects, may be comprehended the *slaves* in the plantations, who are the most inferior subjects. But it also appears that the grand, ultimate design of the institution was, the *propagation of the Gospel in those parts*; which necessarily includes the design of christianising the *Indians* bordering on the colonies, as a principal part of the general design.

3. This charitable foundation was not intended for *all* the plantations, colonies and factories indiscriminately; but for such of them only as really stood in great need of relief and help in this way, and whose religious state corresponded to the description

in the charter. This distinction betwixt the colonies, &c. is clearly supposed in the charter itself, by the manner of expression used; particularly those words, “Whereas—*many* of our plantations;” and——“*many others* of our said plantations.” Had it been said, the *rest of them*, or *all others*, it would have materially altered the case. And it is at least probable, that some such expression would have been used, had it not been taken for granted, that *some* of these plantations were in a quite different state with reference to religion.

This charity must needs have been intentionally *limited* to those plantations, &c. which were, or should be, in the state represented in the charter; in such sort, that the Society had no warrant to extend it to any others, if others there were, whose religious state was materially and essentially different.

4. Even amongst those plantations, &c. which were truly the objects of this charity, there is some difference; for they are differently described; and come under two distinct heads in the charter, *viz.*

First, Those in which the “provision for ministers is *very mean* :” which are passed over with this cursory mention, as not being the plantations whose relief was principally intended. [And this, by the way, naturally implies that some of the plantations, &c. were at that time supplied with *such* ministers as are designed in the charter, “learned and orthodox” ones: For there is no complaint against these ministers *themselves*, but only against the meanness of their *support*.]

Secondly, Such plantations as are “*wholly destitute*, and unprovided,” &c. And these being the places more especially regarded in the charter, their deplorable and pitiable state is enlarged upon: They are represented as *wholly* destitute of the “*public worship* of God;”——“wanting the administration

“ ministration of God’s word and sacraments ; ” —
 “ seeming to be abandoned to *atheism* and *infidelity* ”
 — and in danger of being perverted to “ *Po-
 pish superstition* and *idolatry* . ” Sad state indeed !
 but one degree better than that of pagan barbarity .
 And who that reads this first paragraph of the
 charter, can possibly doubt, but that the relief of
 these places was principally designed, not only in
 distinction from those plantations where a tolerable
 provision was already made for ministers, and the
 support of God’s public worship, but also in dis-
 tinction from those where the provision was “ very
 “ mean ? ”

5. It is evident that, by “ ministers,” or, as they
 are afterwards called, “ learned and orthodox mi-
 “ nisters,” and “ an orthodox clergy,” were not
 intended ministers of any one denomination amongst
 protestants, exclusively of others. For this it may
 suffice at present to assign only three reasons :
 There will be occasion to resume the consideration
 of this point hereafter, when many others will be
 given. *First, Orthodox ministers*, in the charter,
 stand in direct opposition to *Romish priests and je-
 suits* : For it is said, that for want of the *former*,
 the *latter* were the more encouraged to *pervert* the
 King’s subjects. *Secondly*, It is not said, that for
 want of such ministers to instruct the people in the
peculiar doctrines, discipline and worship of the
 church of England, or any other particular pro-
 testant church, the Romish priests were thus encou-
 raged ; but for want of such to instruct them in
 the “ principles of true religion ” in general ; or,
 as it is afterwards expressed, in “ the christian re-
 “ ligion . ” There is not the most remote hint in
 the charter, at any controversies subsisting amongst
 protestants ; but only at those which subsisted be-
 twixt them and Roman-catholics. The evils pro-
 posed to be remedied, or guarded against by this

institution, are those of *atheism, infidelity and popery*; not the errors, whether real or supposed, of any protestants out of the communion of the church of England. It could not even be known from the charter, that there were any dissensions amongst protestants; so general, generous and catholic is the language of it; and so far is it from countenancing any party-design. *Thirdly*, King William himself was bred up in the Calvinistic principles and discipline, quite opposite in some respects to the episcopal; and is generally supposed to have retained a regard for the principles of his education all along; though as King of England, and Head of that church, there was a necessity of his externally conforming to its rites and discipline. Can it be reasonably supposed then, that in this charter, by *orthodox* ministers, he intended those of the English church, indistinction from those of all other churches in the world; and consequently to brand all the rest as *beterodox*! For this will necessarily be the consequence; *orthodoxy* being always and only opposed to *beterodoxy* or *heresy*. To suppose that *that* noble-spirited Prince had any such intention, is quite unnatural: And to say that the Grantees understood the term orthodox in this narrow, exclusive sense, is to reflect upon their understandings as well as their catholicism.

From the foregoing observations it appears, that none of those plantations, &c. if any such there were, in which a tolerable provision was made for ministers, though not of the church of England, to administer "God's word and sacraments," and to instruct the people in the "principles of true religion," or "the christian religion"—and so, to guard them against "atheism and infidelity" on one hand, and "Popish superstition and idolatry" on the other, were in any sort the intended objects of this charity. And therefore,

That

That if the Society have applied any part of their fund to support and encourage the peculiarities of episcopacy in any such places, they have applied it in a manner not warranted by their charter. And

This abuse is so much the greater, if at the same time they have either neglected to support God's public worship in those plantations, &c. which were exactly in the poor and destitute condition represented in the charter; or to propagate the gospel amongst the heathen bordering on the colonies. This, if real, is a double abuse; withholding their charity from those for whom it was originally designed, and bestowing it upon those whom the charter, by natural and necessary consequence, excludes from it—The truth of these supposed facts will be considered hereafter: In the mean time, it will not be amiss to take some notice of Mr. Apthorp's mistakes as to the charter, and the design of this institution.

SECTION III.

Of Mr. Apthorp's manner of quoting and representing the Charter.

THIS gentleman having intimated his intention to determine the question "*once for all*," "by authentic vouchers;" (*Confid.* p. 7.) says (p. 8.) "The proposed vindication is designed to convince the *candid*. To confute the *obstinate*, and silence the *malicious*, is not in the power of reason." From a person who sets out in this modest manner, we have doubtless a right to expect very direct, plain authorities, and great candor, as well as the utmost clearness and strength of reason:

For should he fail in these respects, even those who are neither uncandid nor malicious, may possibly remain unconvinced. But in the next page, just after a very heroic threatening (in some lines from VIRGIL) what a severe and deserved revenge he would take on some unknown person who, it seems, had provoked him in a news-paper; we find him taking a method to accomplish his grand design of vindicating the Society, so as to convince all but the uncandid and malicious, which does not seem the best adapted to this end: And that is, *misquoting* the charter. He there undertakes to give the words of the charter, which, he says, “thus *expresses* the design of their” [the Society’s] “institution;” and then goes on with the usual sign or mark of a quotation. Nor, indeed, do I accuse the gentleman of inserting, as from the charter, any words that are not in it. But whoever compares his quotation (p. 9.) with the charter itself, or only with the preamble, as it is quoted *verbatim* in the preceeding section, will find the following particulars true:—That he has taken the liberty to transpose some clauses, and wholly to leave out others, without giving the least notice of it to his reader in the usual way, by a blank or —; and also that he has thus omitted clauses which are very material, in order to ascertain the true sense of the charter. For he has intirely dropped the following clause——“and seem to be abandoned to *atheism* and *infidelity*”——and these also——“divers Romish priests and jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over our loving subjects to *popish superstition* and *idolatry*,” misplacing the intermediate clause concerning “learned and orthodox ministers.” And yet the pointing all along in this 9th page, is as it ought to be, if the charter had been quoted *verbatim*, without any omissions or transpositions.

Now

Now, can even the most candid think, this gentleman dealt ingenuously by his readers, in thus mangling and castrating the charter? Or can it be supposed that he thought the clauses thus suppressed, were of no use in ascertaining the sense? The importance of them is quite obvious in this respect; they shew the *very sad* and *deplorable* condition of those places, which were in an especial manner the objects of this charitable institution;—that they were not merely destitute of episcopalian ministers, but ministers of any other denomination among protestants; so as to be in a manner abandoned to *atheism* and *infidelity*, or in great danger of being perverted to *popery*. Considered in their proper connexion, and in this view, any common man may easily see the importance of the clauses. But it would have ruined his design, if it had plainly appeared from his own quotation, as it does from the charter itself, that the institution was not intended for the support of an episcopal clergy, where a competent provision was already made for a clergy of the congregational or presbyterian persuasion; but where there was no competent provision made for any ministers of any denomination amongst protestants, capable of instructing the people in “the principles of true religion,” and so, by God’s blessing, guarding them against the fatal errors of atheism, infidelity and popery. There was therefore evidently an end to be served, *such as it was*, by thus mangling and mutilating the charter; whether he had any such design in it or not. For it would answer his purpose much best, to have the true, and very forlorn condition of those plantations, &c. kept out of sight as much as possible, which the royal Founder of the Society had in his mind, and which those omitted clauses so clearly and strongly express; that so people might be the easier induced to believe, that any of the planta-

tions where there was no episcopal clergy, were actually the objects of this charity, even though they had ever so many ministers of any other denomination, competently supported. And, that this was his intention, there is hardly any room even for the candid to doubt, when his own words just after this extraordinary quotation, are considered. For there he deduces this as one of his “certain conclusions” from that view of the charter which he had given; *viz.* “That the primary intention of the Society was,—to provide a maintenance for an orthodox clergy; which (as the charter was obtained by the members of the Church of England) must—mean a clergy of their own church*.” It might indeed be naturally expected that the Society, being at least chiefly episcopalians, whenever they sent missionaries abroad, would send those of their own communion. But it will not from hence follow, that they were to send and support such, in any or all of the colonies indifferently, where a competent provision was already, or should be, made for protestant ministers of another communion. This latter is what the defence of the Society requires; and it is a sophism, perhaps undesigned, which runs through the *Considerations*. But of this more hereafter.—If Mr. Apthorp did not perceive those clauses which he has suppressed in so singular a manner, to be of any importance, I blush for him as a reputed Scholar: But if knowing them to be so, he omitted them in order to impose upon his unwary readers, and the better to disguise the true design of that excellent institution, I am quite in pain for him as a Christian;—especially as One who is by office, I would hope by example also, an instructor of others in christian *simplicity* and *godly sincerity*.

* *Confid.* p. 10, 11.

But whatever might be his design therein, which is left to his own reflections, he has not left out enough of the charter to answer his purpose. Those remaining clauses—"provision for ministers is *very mean*"—"wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers, and the *public worship of God*"—"ministers to instruct our loving subjects in the *principles of true religion*;"—"want the administration of *God's word and sacraments*;"—which are all descriptive of the pitiable state of the places whose relief was designed by this charitable foundation, are sufficient to invalidate his *defence* of the Society, without the assistance of the clauses suppressed in such a manner. For if it can be shewn that the Society maintain many missions and schools in those plantations, &c. to which no part of this description is applicable, but quite the reverse is true; the gentleman must certainly *consider* at least *once again*, and *reason* a little more closely, before he will convince the candid and judicious, that the Society have not misapplied their fund. The charter warrants them to maintain no missions or schools in the colonies, but in such places as answer to the descriptions in the charter; in order to make converts to the church of England from christians of other denominations. The charter knows of no distinction amongst christians, except that of protestants and papists: Its grand object, a truly glorious one, is, to promote christianity, considered in opposition to atheism, infidelity and popery; not episcopacy and the liturgy of the church of England, in opposition to presbyterianism, &c. Though if the profession of christianity is upheld, or if the gospel is propagated at all, it is readily acknowledged that this must be done in some particular way, mode or form. And when episcopalians do any thing to these ends, it is to be expected that they will do it in that way,
mode

mode or form, which themselves most approve. Neither is this the thing objected against in the present argument; but, the Society's turning their arms, as it were, against other protestants; and expending a great proportion of their monies in supporting a party.

SECTION IV.

Of some other Things tending to explain and confirm the Sense of the Charter, and the design of the Institution aforesaid.

I. **T**HE name itself by which this respectable corporation is distinguished and known, is agreeable to the spirit of the charter as before explained: *The Society for the propagation of the Gospel, &c.* From this name or title any one would naturally conclude, that if heathens and barbarians were not the more immediate objects of the charitable institution, but only the more remote; yet it had for its object people in very deplorable circumstances at best; such as were in a manner destitute of God's word and sacraments, or the means of grace. It would never enter into any one's heart to conceive, that any part of its design was, the building up any one protestant church on the ruins of others. Thus the name of the Society, and the charter well agree. But according to some things which Mr. Apthorp and others have advanced, not to say at present, according to some proceedings of the Society, it ought rather to have been called, *The Society for propagating the church of England in those parts where the administration of God's word and sacraments is provided for after the congregational and presbyterian modes.*

2. The common seal of the Society, which often serves as a frontispiece to the charter, is agreeable both to the charter and name of the Society. The device is, a sun in the upper part of a circle, shining gloriously on the world; a natural and noble emblem of the *sun of righteousness*; of Him that said, "I am the light of the world." Within the circle to the right, is a ship under full sail; on the prow of which stands a clergyman with a book in his hand, (I suppose intended for the Bible) which he extends to a company of naked savages on the left, who are eagerly thronging to the shore, to meet and receive the blessing. Just over them is a scroll with these words, *Transiens adjuva nos*; alluding to Acts xvi. 9. "Come over—and help us:" the words of the man of Macedonia, whom St. Paul saw in a vision; from whence he inferred that the Lord called him "to preach the gospel" to the heathen there. And in the outward circle or circumference of the seal, is the aforesaid title or name of the Society. This is a fine device for the seal of such a society, according to its name and charter.

3. The sermons preached annually before the Society, in the general strain and tenor of them, correspond very exactly to the noble design of the institution, as before represented. The grand topic insisted on in them, is promoting THE GOSPEL; the undoubted doctrines and duties of the Christian religion. The preachers on these occasions seem evidently, however, to have had the heathen in their minds, rather than professed Christians who only needed assistance in order to the support of God's worship and ordinances: In which respect the sermons rather coincide with the ultimate than the more immediate design of the institution; and so harmonize rather more perhaps with the seal and name of the society, than with the charter. This

is not said with the least design to reflect on the preachers of them, as if they had forgotten the design of the institution, which is indeed kept in view in those sermons; though, as was intimated before, the ultimate design of the institution is much more enlarged on, than the primary or more direct. And the grand argument insisted on, to induce good people of all denominations to assist the Society with their charity, is, the *common cause of christianity*; partly for supporting the public worship of God in those British colonies, where it could not be tolerably supported without such assistance; but chiefly for the sake of the poor heathen slaves and savages in, or bordering on, the English plantations: An argument which has been handled with the greatest propriety and pathos in these sermons; and has doubtless drawn some thousands of pounds from protestant dissenters in England.

I have read many of these excellent sermons, both the very earliest, and those preached from time to time since; and have many of them now by me: So that it were easy to fill volumes with quotations to exemplify and prove what is here asserted concerning the general strain of them. But I am not willing needlessly to load and swell the present publication, by quotations to prove what, it is taken for granted, no person who knows any thing of the matter, and either has or deserves the least reputation, will presume to deny. But by way of specimen, for the sake of those who may not have read any of these sermons, some extracts shall be subjoined from the late bishop BUTLER's sermon before the Society, 1739: A great ornament of the episcopal order, and of the church of England; the clearness of whose head, the precision of whose language, and the goodness of whose heart, are so conspicuous in all his writings.

“No

“ No one has a right to be called a christian,” says he, “ who doth not do somewhat in his station, towards the discharge of this trust;” [meaning the gospel, which he considers as a trust] “ who doth not, for instance, assist in keeping up *the profession of CHRISTIANITY* where he lives. And it is an obligation but little more remote, to assist in doing it in our factories abroad, and in the colonies to which we are related——

“ Of these our colonies, the SLAVES ought to be considered as inferior *members*, and therefore to be treated as *members* of them; and not merely as cattle or goods, the property of their masters. Nor can the highest property, possible to be acquired in these servants, cancel the obligation to take care of their religious instruction. Despicable as they may appear in our eyes, they are the creatures of God, and of the race of mankind, for whom Christ died: And it is *excusable* to keep them in ignorance of the end, for which they were made; and the means, whereby they may become partakers of the *general redemption*, &c.——

“ The like charity we owe to the NATIVES; owe to them in a much stricter sense than we are apt to consider, were it only from neighbourhood, and our having gotten possessions in their country. For incidental circumstances of this kind appropriate all the general obligations of charity to particular persons; and make such and such instances of it, the duty of one man rather than another. We are most strictly bound to consider these *poor unformed creatures*,” &c.—

“ And it may be some encouragement to cheerful perseverance *in these endeavours*, to observe, not only that they are our duty, but also that they seem the means of carrying on a great scheme of providence, which shall certainly be

“ accomplished. For the everlasting GOSPEL shall
 “ be preached to every nation: And the kingdoms of
 “ this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord,
 “ and of his Christ.”

After discoursing for two or three pages, concerning the good effects that might be reasonably expected from these pious endeavours to propagate christianity, he goes on thus——“ The design before us being then unquestionably good, it were
 “ much to be wished that serious men of all denominations would join in it. And let me add, that
 “ the foregoing view of things affords distinct reasons why they should. For, first, by so doing,
 “ they assist in a work of the *most useful importance*,
 “ that of spreading over the world the SCRIPTURE
 “ ITSELF, as a DIVINE REVELATION: and it cannot be spread under this character, for a continuance, in any country, unless CHRISTIAN
 “ CHURCHES be supported there; but will always,
 “ more or less, so long as *such* churches subsist;
 “ and therefore their subsistence ought to be provided for. In the next place, they [*viz.* serious
 “ men of all denominations] should remember, that
 “ if CHRISTIANITY is to be propagated at all,
 “ which they acknowledge it should, it must be
 “ in *some particular form of profession*. And though
 “ they think *ours* liable to objections, &c.—Upon
 “ the whole therefore, *these persons* would do well
 “ to consider, how far they can with reason satisfy themselves in neglecting what is *certainly right*,
 “ on account of what is *doubtful*, whether it be
 “ wrong*.”——

Thus Dr. BUTLER, with his usual penetration and accuracy, represents the true design of this noble institution, in its whole view, compass, and extent. And how cogent is his reasoning, to induce serious men of *all denominations* in England to

* Edit. p. 14.—22. See also p. 24, 25.

join in, and contribute towards carrying it into execution, upon the true *original* plan? But let me just ask by the way, what force there would be in this excellent reasoning, to induce protestant *dissenters* in England to assist the Society, upon supposition it was a known fact, that the Society deviated very essentially from this noble plan, by applying a large proportion of their fund in supporting a party in America, and undermining the congregational and presbyterian churches here? Could it be reasonably supposed, that those of the same religious principles in England would assist the Society in any designs or endeavours against their brethren in New-England? or in promoting episcopacy here, in opposition to the churches of their own denomination? Or could any preacher on those occasions, who knew this to be fact. with integrity and uprightness make use of arguments of this catholic strain, in order to get money out of the pockets of English dissenters? I am full persuaded that the great and good Bishop BUTLER would have detested such an artifice, and even the whole scheme of planting and supporting episcopal churches in divers places in America, had he been apprised of the true state of religion in them.—The foregoing extracts from his sermon, as was intimated before, are given only as a specimen of what is the usual strain of the sermons preached on the same occasion. Though I am not insensible, that some of them, especially within the last twenty years, have expressions in them of a much less catholic strain, and quite aliene from the spirit of the charter; an example or two of which may perhaps be given hereafter. But then, it is to be observed, on the other hand,

4. That in some of these anniversary sermons, all narrow, party designs are condemned and disclaimed in very strong terms; and a zeal for catholic christianity

christianity recommended in opposition to every thing of this kind. Thus particularly Dr. BEVERIDGE, Bishop of St. Asaph, in his sermon before the Society, 1706, after commending the zeal of the primitive Christians, says, “ But then we
 “ must take care, that our zeal be as theirs was,
 “ according to knowledge—not for any *private*
 “ *opinion, party or faction*, not for either side of a
 “ *doubtful disputation*, or for unwritten traditions,
 “ wherein men are *apt to spend all their zeal*, so as
 “ to have little or none left for that which is the
 “ *proper object of it*. But as it is said of Phineas,
 “ in his great commendation, that he was zealous
 “ FOR HIS GOD, Num. xxv. 13. So must we be*.”

Another Bishop of St. Asaph, as quoted by Mr. HOBART †, (which of them I am not certain) expresses his indignation against the church of Rome, on account of the party designs and views with which they send missionaries about the world, in the following terms, “ THEIR missions do not seem
 “ to be managed with an *apostolical simplicity*.
 “ THEY settle themselves in nations which are
 “ *Christians already*, and have been so from the be-
 “ *ginning*. And, under the *pretence* of converting
 “ the infidels that are among them, their *chief bu-*
 “ *siness* seems to be to apply themselves with all
 “ their arts to pervert the Christians themselves
 “ from their *ancient faith*; and to draw them over
 “ to a subjection to the *Pope*: The want of which
 “ subjection is what they think the greatest error
 “ they find among them, and which they zealously
 “ endeavour to eradicate, while the Infidels are
 “ *very sparingly* (if ever) *applied to by them*.” Mr. HOBART makes a pertinent remark to the present purpose, on Dr. WADDINGTON’s sermon before the Society, which the author has not by him. “ Dr. WADDINGTON,” says he,—“ supposes

* 1 Edit. p. 8.

† Second Address, p. 131.

“ that

“ that some would object, that *not christianity it-*
 “ *self, but the faith and practice of ONE COMMU-*
 “ *NITY ONLY of Christians, would be propagated;*
 “ and in replying to it he says, *no such PARTICU-*
 “ *LAR DESIGN is mentioned in our charter.*” *

Now it is to be observed, that these anniversary sermons are almost always preached by members, and printed and dispersed by order, of the Society : A principal design of them being, to shew what a noble and generous work they are engaged in ; that so people of all denominations amongst protestants may be encouraged to bear a part with them in it, by their donations, legacies, &c. How great therefore must be the surprize of good people on the other side of the water, if they should find, that notwithstanding these generous professions of the Society from time to time, and their disclaiming all narrow, party designs, they had actually been many years prosecuting such a design themselves in America ; a scheme not sufficiently unlike to that which they condemn so justly in another famous society, that *De propagandâ Fide* ; and that they had employed a great part of their collections, revenues, &c. in carrying it into execution ! That what is here mentioned only by way of supposition, is not so remote from certain fact, as many may think it even from the lowest probability, will be shewn in the following sections.—[The Society have, however, all along professed a particular regard for the church of England ; such an one as all persons who are sincere, must be supposed to have for their own communion : And nothing which has been said before, is to be understood as a denial of this.]

* *Second Address*, p. 143.

SECTION V.

Some general Account of the State of Religion in New-England, before and since the incorporation of the Society.

HAVING in the preceding sections taken a view of the charter, and represented it in its true light, in opposition to Mr. *Aptborp's* misquotation and misrepresentation of it; and also confirmed that sense which has been given as the true, by the name and common seal of the Society, as also by the anniversary sermons preached before, and dispersed by them, to get subscriptions, &c. it will now be proper to come to some facts relative to the conduct of the Society in planting churches, and supporting missions, in America. And as the principal objection lies against their conduct as to New-England, it will be necessary, in order to set the objection in a fair and true light, in the first place to make some remarks on the state of religion here, before the Society sent any missionaries into these parts, and since. This is proposed in the present section. And,

1. It is well known, that the first settlers of New-England were such as came hither chiefly on account of their sufferings for non-conformity to the church of England. They fled hither as to an asylum from episcopal persecution, seconded by royal power; which often condescended to be subservient to the views of domineering prelates, before the glorious Revolution. That this was the occasion of their flight hither, appears even from the Society's own publications. Thus in the *Account of the foundation, proceedings and success of the Society*, published Anno 1706, it is said, (p. 10.) "It must be
" acknowledged,

“ acknowledged, that it was the unhappiness of
 “ New-England and the adjoining parts, to be first
 “ planted and inhabited by persons who were ge-
 “ nerally disaffected to the church by law esta-
 “ blished in England; and had *many of them* taken
 “ *refuge or retirement* in those parts, on account of
 “ their *suffering* for non-conformity here at home.”

This fact must indeed be *confessed*; and that it was their *unhappiness* to suffer thus, ought to be confessed also. But, that it was the unhappiness of New-England to be first planted and inhabited by these conscientious non-conformists to the established church of England, is not so clear a point: Neither is it to be wondered at, if they were *disaffected* to such a cruel, persecuting church as that was before the Revolution.

2. It is no less certain that these *refugees* were very far from being persons of a loose, irreligious character. Had they been void of conscience toward God, they would not have suffered so much for non-conformity, and fled their dear native country, for the sake of serving him without fear in a wilderness. If they had been persons void of religious principle, they would in all probability have lived and died in the communion of that church, for dissenting from which they suffered so much.—That they were a sober, virtuous and religious set of people in general, is certain: tho’, that they were perfect, or free from all human errors and frailties, is not pretended.

3. It is well known that they very early made provision for the public worship of God, and founded a seminary of learning, which has been increasing and flourishing to the present time. The zeal which they shewed both for learning and religion, from the first, was indeed very uncommon; and greatly to their honor. The public worship of God, and the administration of his word and sacraments,

have all along been provided for in New-England : I mean, in the Province of *Massachusetts-Bay* and in *Connecticut* ; which two may contain perhaps about eight parts in ten of the inhabitants of New-England. In the other two small governments, *New-Hampshire*, and *Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations*, there has, to be sure, been much less care taken for the support of a public worship. But in the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut* the public profession of religion has all along been very regularly upheld, nearly after the same mode of profession. The doctrines almost universally professed in both, are and ever have been very agreeable to the doctrinal articles of the church of England. Their external polity, and form of worship, are indeed known to be different ; the churches of the *Massachusetts Bay*, the principal New-England government, being generally of the *congregational* persuasion, which the episcopalians affect to reproach under the name of *independency* ; and those in *Connecticut*, of the *presbyterian* ; or at least approaching nearer to the established church of Scotland.

4. It is farther to be observed, that in these two principal governments of New-England there has been, not only provision, but *legal* provision made for the support of a *learned* and *orthodox* ministry, and of schools ; and that, before the Society for propagating the gospel had a being. Particularly in the *Massachusetts*, there was a law enacted in the 4th of WILLIAM and MARY, for those purposes ; which having been nine years before the Society obtained their charter, it will be needless to look any farther back for a *civil* establishment of religion here, upon this occasion. Some extracts from the law aforesaid, may be seen in the margin*.

5. Divers

* The Act is intitled, *An act for the SETTLEMENT and SUPPORT of MINISTERS and SCHOOLMASTERS*. It begins thus,
“ Be

5. Divers acts, relating to the settlement and support of the gospel ministry here, having received the royal sanction, our churches seem to have a proper *legal* establishment. And it ought to be particularly remembered, that the act aforesaid was passed about nine years before the Society's charter was granted. Can it then be supposed that this province, where such provision was made for the settlement, support, and maintenance of an "able, learned, orthodox ministry," was either one of those plantations intended in the Society's charter,

"Be it ordained by the governor, council, and representatives convened in general court or assembly, and by the authority of the same, That the inhabitants of each town within this province shall take due care from time to time, to be provided of an ABLE LEARNED ORTHODOX minister or ministers, of good conversation, to dispense the word of God: which ministers shall be SUITABLY encouraged, and SUFFICIENTLY supported and maintained by the inhabitants of such towns." —It is provided in the same paragraph, that all *contracts* which had been or should be made by towns, relative to their ministers or schoolmasters, and their maintenance, should be "made good, &c. And where there is no contract respecting the support and maintenance of the ministry, or when the same happens to be expired, and the inhabitants of such towns shall neglect to make suitable provision therein," then the court of quarter sessions is impowered and directed "to order a competent allowance to such minister;" and the manner in which the assessment shall be made, &c. is pointed out.

In the next paragraph it is ordained, that if any town shall be destitute of a minister "qualified as aforesaid,"—six months"—the said court of quarter-sessions, after taking certain steps to induce the inhabitants to conform to the law in respect of the settlement of a minister, shall, if this proves ineffectual, themselves "take effectual care to procure and settle a minister qualified as aforesaid, and order the charge thereof, and of such minister's MAINTENANCE to be levied on the inhabitants of such town."

It is afterwards enacted, that every town having "fifty householders or upwards, shall be constantly provided of a *School-master* to teach children to read and write." But towns that have "one hundred families," are obliged to be provided with "Grammar-schools," &c. And suitable penalties are ordained in case of neglect.

where the provision for ministers was "very mean;" or one of those which were "*wholly* destitute and "unprovided of a maintenance for ministers;" so that the King's subjects "seemed to be abandoned "to *atheism* and *infidelity*;" or were, for want of *learned* and *orthodox* ministers to instruct them "in "the principles of true religion," in imminent danger of being perverted to "popish superstition "and idolatry!" Certainly the charter cannot in reason be supposed to have had the least reference to this province, or any other British plantation where a similar provision was or should be made for the administration of God's word and ordinances.

6. Churches and schools have from time to time been founded, and are continually multiplying, in New-England, in conformity both to the pious inclinations of the inhabitants, and to the legal provision made for those purposes. A competent number of young men have also been educated from time to time in the Colleges of Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut, for the supply of both. And our *ordinations* are carried on in a regular, orderly and *scriptural* way; at least according to our own conceptions: And we have doubtless as good a right to judge for ourselves as to that matter, as the Society have to judge for us.

7. The people of New-England, particularly in those two principal governments of it, are all in general professed Christians. There is no such monster as an *Atheist* known amongst us; hardly any such person as a *Deist*. And as to the superstitions and idolatries of the church of *Rome*, there neither is, nor has been the least danger of their gaining ground in New-England. The Congregationalists and Presbyterians are known to hold them *at least* in as great abhorrence as the Episcopalians do. And since the Revolution, hardly a Roman-catholic,

catholic, except some few transient persons, has been seen in New-England, till after removing the French from Nova-Scotia, and dispersing them in the colonies. These are a plain, simple, ignorant people, who have now no Romish priests or Jesuits amongst them; and by whom we are surely in no danger of being perverted from the protestant faith. How much better then, in all these respects, is the state of religion amongst us, than it is even in England, under the immediate eye and documents of the venerable bishops? Where, notwithstanding all their pious endeavours, there are so many Roman-catholics, Infidels and Sceptics, if not right-down Atheists! It may be added, that the common people in New-England, by means of our schools, and the instructions of our “able, learned, orthodox ministers,” are, and have all along been, philosophers and divines in comparison of the common people in England, of the communion of the church there established. This is commonly said by those who have had an opportunity personally to inform themselves: And a rationale might be given of the fact, even without any reflection on the church aforesaid.

8. As to practical religion, though we have no cause for boasting, yet, to say the least, we have no cause for blushing on a comparison of our morals with those of the people in England, in the communion of that church: And many vices that are common there, are almost, if not quite unknown here. So that if we appeal to fact and experience, there is much less danger of irreligion in principle or practice, and of Romish superstition and idolatry prevailing in New-England, amongst the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, for want of learned, orthodox and pious ministers “to instruct them in the principles of *true religion*,” than there is of their prevailing in England: Though in the

Abstrahs annexed to the bishop of Clogher's sermon before the Society, 1714, (p. 53.) there is indeed an intimation that the *Episcopalians* in America are in imminent danger of falling into those errors, for want of bishops to reside amongst them. And should any be sent hither, to prevent these evils amongst the people of that communion, it is to be hoped they will have better success in so pious an undertaking, than the bishops have hitherto had in England ———

9. From the foregoing faithful, though brief representation of religion in New-England, from the time that the first settlers of it were persecuted out of England by the established church, to the present, (I speak particularly of the two principal governments of New-England) it appears that there neither is nor has been any occasion for the Society to support missions and schools here; and that they had not even a warrant for doing so, by their charter. New-England (the two small governments of New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island excepted) does by no means answer to the description of those plantations, &c. in the charter, for supporting "God's public worship" in which, a charitable provision is thereby made.

If it should be said, (which is the most plausible thing that can be said) that in some parts even of the Massachusetts and Connecticut, the provision made for the maintenance of ministers has been "very mean," and that therefore they come within the true design of the charter; several things may be observed in answer hereto. First, Good ministers of JESUS CHRIST, who have the interest of religion at heart, do not aspire after worldly *riches, pomp and grandeur*. Secondly, The provision for ministers here, though not to be compared with the rich benefices in England, has not yet been so "very mean," but that a competent number of
3
learned

learned and orthodox ministers have been found to supply our churches. Thirdly, The government here, which took the support of ministers into consideration before the Society was founded, must in reason be supposed more capable of judging, what a competent provision for them is, in this country, than the venerable Society. But, fourthly, if notwithstanding this legal provision, a number of them in some of our poor, small, or frontier towns, have been “very meanly” provided for; (which is not denied) and this is alleged as bringing such places within the true intent of the charter; I will allow the pertinence and validity of the argument, upon either of the two following suppositions. First, That the charitable Society have remitted something from time to time to *our* poor, though learned, orthodox and pious ministers, settled in *such* places, for their help and encouragement; which would have been quite agreeable to the spirit of the charter, and the catholic principles of the royal *Grantor*, however alien it might possibly have been from the principles and views of the episcopal *Grantees*. Or, secondly, if it appears that the Society have actually established their *own* missions in such poor, little or exposed places only, instead of doing it in our richest and most populous towns, where the best provision was before made for ministers. But if neither of these things can be made to appear, it will be in vain, and indeed a piece of hypocrisy, to allege the “very mean” support of ministers here, as an argument for the Society’s applying a very great part of their revenue for the maintenance of God’s public worship in New-England.

That there was very little, or rather no occasion for Missionaries in New-England, Mr. HOBART has very pertinently produced the testimony of the pious and judicious Dr. BRAY, who, before the Society’s incorporation, was the bishop of London’s
commissary

commissary in Maryland. This worthy divine took great pains to inform himself of the state of religion in the colonies, and their various exigencies; of which he published an Account, and delivered it as the result of his inquiries, that “from New-York northward, he found *very little need* of missionaries for the propagation of christianity; and in the colonies of Connecticut and the Massachusetts NONE AT ALL*.”

This testimony of Dr. BRAY ought to have the more weight, not only because he was such a leading man with reference to the charitable institution aforesaid, as to have been honoured with the name of “the Father of the Society;” but because of the great respect with which I find the Society speaking of him, of his conduct in, and his account of the Affairs of America, in the following words—“The Lord bishop of London—did afterwards send over the Rev. Dr. THOMAS BRAY, as his commissary to Maryland; who being assisted—did settle and support several new ministers in that province, and did fix and furnish some parochial libraries, and did other public services, of which he has himself given a TRUE and modest account†.”

It is submitted to the judgment of the impartial reader, whether the aforesaid testimony of Dr. BRAY, so inquisitive, observing and active a man, is not more than a balance to the testimony which Mr. *Apthorp* produces from the Dean, afterwards bishop BERKLEY’s sermon before the Society;—“that the likeliest step towards converting the Heathen, would be to begin with the English. The missionaries do good service in bringing them to a *serious sense of religion*, &c‡.” The

* Vid. *Second Address*, &c. p. 126.

† *Account of the Society*, p. 14.

‡ *Considerations*, p. 19.

excellent Dr. BERKLEY lived a recluse, studious life the greatest part of the time he was in New-England; and that in the small government of Rhode-Island, where there was indeed then but little of the *face* of religion,—except perhaps among our good *friends* the *Quakers*—Besides; he does not speak particularly of New-England, or any part thereof, but of the colonies in general; thinking that the missionaries in them do good service in bringing the English to a *serious sense of religion*. Which is doubtless true as to some of the colonies: Though the people of the Massachusetts and Connecticut had at least as *serious a sense of religion*, long before there was a single missionary in them, as they have had since. And Dr. BRAY is express, that in these two colonies, there was no occasion AT ALL for missionaries *to propagate christianity*: And the Society say, he gave a TRUE account of things in America. So that if they send missionaries into these colonies, it cannot be so much to propagate *christianity*, as to propagate *something distinct from it*, viz. the *peculiarities* of the church of England.

SECTION VI.

Observations on the Conduct of the Society in supporting Episcopal Missions and Schools in New-England, particularly in the Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut.

THAT the Society have *chiefly* sent their missionaries into those British plantations where they were much needed, according to the true design of their institution; and that they have hereby served

served the interest of religion in them, is by no means denied : It were very criminal to deny them the praise that is justly due to them in this respect. But, that they have deviated from their original plan according to the charter, in some other respects ; and thereby left undone much of the good which they might probably have effected, with the ordinary blessing of God, may perhaps be equally evident from this and the following sections. Most of the following facts are very notorious, even from the anniversary sermons, *abstracts*, and other publications of the Society ; so that they will not be denied.

1. For several years, I think about eight or nine, after the Society was founded, they sent no missionary into New-England. Which may naturally be looked on as one argument, that it was not originally considered among those plantations which were supposed to stand in need of their charity *.

2. They have from time to time, since they began to send missionaries into these parts, been adding to their number, supporting episcopal schools, &c.

* By what I can learn, there was no episcopal church in New-England, till about the year 1685, or 1686, in the reign of the insatuated Roman-catholic K. *James II.* and the administration of the Roman-catholic governor Sir *Edmond Andross* ; though K. *Charles II.* had before given *his allowance* for one in Boston, when our charter was called into question, in the year 1679. It was at this time, that "the Lord bishop of London, upon an address of several of the inhabitants of Boston did prevail with his Majesty [aforesaid] that a church should be allowed in that town, for the exercise of religion according to the church of England." [*Account of the Society*, p. 11.] If I mistake not, there was no missionary from the Society, in New-England, till about the year 1710. It is not material: In the year 1718 there were only three of them in all New-England, *viz.* one at Rhode-Island, another at Marblehead, and a third at Newbury ; according to the *abstract* for that year, p. 44.

It is also to be observed, that a very *large proportion* of their missionaries have fallen to the share of New-England; in the two principal governments of which, Dr. BRAY, the Father of the Society, thought there was no occasion for *any at all*. The gradual increase of the missionaries, catechists, &c. in New-England, appears from the *abstracts* to have been as follows, *viz.*

In 1718	.	.	3.
1727	.	.	10.
1730	.	.	14.
1739	.	.	22.
1745	.	.	24.
1761	about		30.

I have seen no later *abstract*.

How *large* a proportion of missionaries, &c. this is for New-England, compared with the other colonies, especially when a due regard is had to their religious state respectively, may appear by the single cast of the eye on the table following. In the last mentioned year, 1761, according to the *abstract*, their numbers in the southern colonies, where they were so much needed, were,

In New-York	16.
New-Jersey	10.
Pennsylvania	9.
N. Carolina	5.
S. Carolina	5.
Georgia	1.
Bahama Islands	1.
Barbados	2.

It does not appear from the *abstracts*, that the Society have any missionaries at all in the other West-India Islands, where, as is commonly reported,

ported, there is hardly any shew of public worship kept up, of any kind ; and where there are so many thousands of Negro slaves in total ignorance of christianity. The true cause of this neglect may be seen hereafter.

3. It is notorious that the missionaries, instead of being sent to the frontier and other poor towns in New-England, where the provision and accommodations for ministers were the *meanest*, have generally been stationed in the oldest, most populous and richest towns, where the *best* provision was before made for ministers ; where the public worship of God was constantly and regularly upheld, and his word and sacraments duly administered according to the congregational and presbyterian modes. This will be evident to all that are in any measure acquainted with this country, from the bare mention of some of the places where the Society support missions and schools ; viz. Boston, Cambridge, Salem, Marblehead, Newbury, Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, Braintree, Scituate, Bristow, Newport in Rhode-Island, N. London, Stratford, Fairfield, Middletown, &c. I have also understood that there is a church of England in N. Haven, the seat of the College in Connecticut ; though I do not find by the *abstracts*, that there is yet any missionary fixed there. It is not denied, however, that there are a few missions established in New-England, particularly in Rhode-Island government, where they might be needed.

4. It needs not to be proved, but only remembered, that these missions, &c. have not been supported, but at a large annual expence of the Society. The amount of the salaries here, exclusive of books to be distributed, &c. for the year 1761, was about £. 1270 sterling, according to the *abstract*. The other expences of the Society for New-England being added hereto, might probably make up
the

the sum of £. 1500 sterling, *communibus annis*, for many years past: Though I pretend not to be very exact in this calculation.

5. To those who are well acquainted with New-England, and the manner and circumstances in which episcopal churches have been gathered and founded here, it appears that the Society have manifested a *sufficient* forwardness to encourage and increase *small disaffected* parties in our towns, upon an application to them;—in those towns, I mean, where a regular, legal and due provision was already made for the support of God's public worship. Some of these little parties, or rather factions, it is well known here, have taken their rise from no fixed principle of a conscientious dissent from our manner of worship, but from mere levity, petulance, or avarice;—from some trifling, groundless disgust at the stated minister; or a dissatisfaction about pews and rates; or at their being under, or likely to come under, censure for their immoral practices. I do not affirm positively, that either of these has always been the case, without exception: But, that it often has been, is as well known amongst us, as a thing of that nature can be known. These people being thus affronted and angry without cause, presently declare for the *church*, without really knowing any thing of the state of the controversy; and apply to some missionary or missionaries, to recommend them to the charity of the Society. And divers of the missionaries have been much injured, (which there is no reason to suppose) if they have not been very busy in intrigues in order to foment these divisions and parties, *for the good of the church*; yea, been at the bottom of them. In which they perhaps thought, they conformed to the true design of that standing direction of the Society to their missionaries; *viz.* “ That they frequently visit—
“ those that *oppose* them, or *dissent* from them, to
“ convince

“convince and reclaim them——” They add indeed, “with a spirit of meekness and gentleness;” which seems not to have been so much remembered in all cases, as the other branch of the direction.

But from whatever cause these little discontented parties have generally taken their origin, in towns where there were learned and orthodox ministers duly supported; thus much is certain, that they have not only been recommended to the Society from time to time, but been encouraged thereby, and had missionaries sent to them. The number of these humble supplicants in a town, have sometimes not exceeded eight, ten or twelve heads of families; and this in towns consisting of two or three hundred families. It is commonly, and I believe truly said, that there are scarce so many as ten families in the town of Cambridge, which usually attend the service of the church lately set up therein, but about half a quarter of a mile from the College, and from the meeting-house there. What is this but setting up altar against altar? And some there are, who think the principal end, and true spirit of that mission was not ill explained by an episcopalian, who, as is reported, expressed himself thus on the occasion——“I don’t care for
“them; we have now got a church in the very
“*munns** of ’em.” It is a known fact, that in some other churches, which, according to the *abstracts*, have been represented as growing, flourishing, and increasing in reputation for near half a century, the number of stated worshippers at this day very little, if any thing, exceeds ten or twelve families. These small parties thus encouraged and supported by the Society in different parts of New-England at a great expence, have in short all the appearance of entering wedges; or rather of little lodgments made in carrying on the crusade, or

* A cant term well understood among us.

spiritual siege of our churches, with the hope that they will one day submit to an episcopal sovereign. And it will appear at least probable in the sequel, that this has long been the formal design of the Society; and that it is the true plan, and grand mystery, of their operations in New-England.

6. It is well known to us in New-England, that after supporting and encouraging these little parties, till in some places they have, by one means or other, become considerable both for number and riches, and well able to support their own ministers; the Society have still continued to pay these out of their charitable fund. The only reason why I do not come to particulars here, is, lest it should seem too invidious. This conduct of the Society, for some years proved no inconsiderable means of increasing the church-party: I mean, till a law of this province was made, obliging the episcopalians to pay ministerial rates in common with other people; the money levied on them, however, to go to the support of *their own clergy*. This law seemed to give some check to the progress of episcopacy, and a zeal for the liturgy, in New-England. And if there had been no such act, or the episcopalians had been exempted from all ministerial taxes, as the Quakers are, almost all who loved their money better than *any thing else*, might in the course of a few years have declared themselves for, and adorned the communion of, the church——But this is not designed as a general reflection on the people of that communion here; some of whom are doubtless persons of principle, and sincere piety.

SECTION VII.

The manner in which episcopal churches have often sprung up in New-England, illustrated and exemplified in a letter of the late Rev. Dr. COLMAN of Boston to Dean, afterwards Bishop, KENNET; with part of the Dean's answer.*

IT may perhaps be less invidious to exemplify some things in the foregoing section, relative to the episcopal churches and missions in New-England, by some extracts from a letter of Dr. COLMAN to Dr. KENNET, then Dean of Peterborough, than by giving any more recent instances, however notorious. It was in 1712, that the letter from which the following extracts are made, was written by the former to the latter of those worthy Divines.

‘ Rev. Sir, Boston, Nov. 1712.

‘ I am altogether a *stranger* to you, and must
‘ needs be *unknown*; for my name is much too
‘ little to have been heard of by persons of your
‘ dignity in the established church. But meeting
‘ with your excellent *sermon* preached before the
‘ honourable and most reverend *Society*—I can-
‘ not forbear asking your leave to write you my
‘ thoughts upon an admirable passage I find there-
‘ in, p. 22.

“ Neither our *own* people in those parts, nor
“ their African *slaves*, nor their *Indian* neighbours
“ have ought to accuse us of. At least we have
“ given no just *offence* to the *Gentiles* there, nor to
“ the church of God. We trust we have not sin-
“ ned against the *brethren*, and have walked ho-

* The letters from which these extracts are made, are contained at large in the life of Dr. Colman, by the Reverend E. Turell, A. M. pastor of Medford, p. 122—132.

“ nestly toward them that are without. We give
 “ our money, our attendance, our correspondence,
 “ our several sorts of care, pains and trouble :
 “ Forgive us this wrong : If we have done any
 “ other, God do so to us, and more also.”

‘ Sir, there is such an air of *sincerity* in these
 ‘ words, that I cannot but have a perfect *esteem* of
 ‘ the good, and truly noble spirit breathed in them.
 ‘ I doubt not but you fully believe as you speak,
 ‘ and are accepted by God in your pious desires of
 ‘ serving the interests of religion in these remote
 ‘ parts of the earth. I greatly honour the *inten-*
 ‘ *tions* of your most honourable Society, their
 ‘ abundant labours and expence.

‘ A more noble charity never was projected than
 ‘ your sending the *gospel* among the *heathen* here,
 ‘ and into *heathenish* places, where the settlements
 ‘ have been made void of the form of religion.
 ‘ The *harvest* of this nature is too plenteous thro’
 ‘ *Virginia, Maryland, the Jerseys, our Eastern*
 ‘ country also, and the *Narragansett*, and some
 ‘ places about *Rhode-Island*, which have been too
 ‘ long *neglected*, and suffered to run wild into *sec-*
 ‘ *taries*, and prejudices against any ministry of the
 ‘ word at all.

‘ This *vast* and *waste* space, desolate and perish-
 ‘ ing, cries aloud to you for your charitable care :
 ‘ And verily the *fund* which the Society has con-
 ‘ tributed and gathered is but too little yet by far,
 ‘ for these necessitous places ; while at the same
 ‘ time many of your missions into our parts, are
 ‘ unto places where the gospel is received and
 ‘ preached, and churches gathered in very good
 ‘ order and manner.—I cannot but let you know
 ‘ my thoughts, that the reverend and honourable
 ‘ Society have been once and again misled, and
 ‘ even imposed on by mis-informations, and pri-
 ‘ vate designs and interests, of persons and par-

‘ ties here, to mispend (and so necessarily pervert)
 ‘ great portions of their noble charity, to such *ends*
 ‘ and in such *manner* as do not at all answer the
 ‘ *propagation of the gospel* among us, but which do
 ‘ really break in upon and hinder the spreading and
 ‘ success of it. To evince which, I will fairly put
 ‘ the case, and offer an instance or two.

‘ You must give me leave, Sir, to suppose a
 ‘ *town* and *towns* here, wherein *religion* is settled,
 ‘ *ministers* legally fixed, the word of God faithfully
 ‘ *preached*, and the *sacraments* of Christ admini-
 ‘ stred; and yet there happen a discontented per-
 ‘ son or two in the place; or some difference about
 ‘ the placing a new *house* for public worship, or
 ‘ about paying their little *rate* to the ministry, or
 ‘ the like: Immediately they are advised, or in
 ‘ their own mind they propose to themselves, “Let
 ‘ us send over to the *Lord bishop of London*, or to
 ‘ the honourable Society for propagating the go-
 ‘ spel, for a minister of the church of England!
 ‘ He will bring a Salary of £. 50 sterling.”——
 ‘ Now suppose, Sir, they actually send and obtain,
 ‘ I demand, whether it be not a real injury and
 ‘ *abuse* of the Society and their charity; their de-
 ‘ clared end, and the proper *use* of so *great a gift*
 ‘ as fifty pound *per annum* is?—Yet are there se-
 ‘ veral such notorious instances in our *New-English*
 ‘ *provinces*. One was lately in the town of *Braintree*,
 ‘ within ten miles of *Boston*, which *applica-*
 ‘ *tion* to you the Rev. Mr. *Miles* of *Boston* refused
 ‘ to countenance; and was free to say, that were the
 ‘ circumstances of the place known, my Lord of
 ‘ *London* and the Society would never approve of
 ‘ it: For it is a notorious matter of fact, that set-
 ‘ ting aside *two families* in that party at *Braintree*,
 ‘ the rest neither *know why* they sought the *church*
 ‘ *worship* there, nor could be any *credit* to it. Their
 ‘ number was so very *minute*, and their character

‘ so

‘ so very mean, that when a minister was sent to them, he was *ashamed* of his errand, and diverted to some other place of service.

‘ This last year a difference happened in the town of *Newbury* about placing their *meeting-house*: The matter was brought before our *general court*, who determined it according to the free vote and act of the *precinct*, whereby they had obliged themselves to each other. Whereupon a number of them declare themselves for the *church of England*; many of them, I will suppose, persons of sobriety and virtue, only in a *pet*, and to save their *rate* to their aged and worthy minister, Mr. Belcher; utterly *ignorant* of the church they declare for, nor *offended* in the least with the form of worship or discipline which they turn from; —being till now among the most *narrow* and *rigid* dissenters.——

‘ In short, Sir, there is a *sordid motive* which will find you *beggars* enough for your charity in our country towns! if you will free them from *rates* to any ministry, and *maintain* it for them. —You will best judge, Sir, if there be no *offence* to the church of God, in the steps taken by too many, *here* and *there*.’——

The worthy Dean wrote a very obliging answer to the foregoing. His letter is dated Sept. 15. 1713: In which are the following passages.

‘ Rev. Sir,

‘ Though I seem *negligent* in my due acknowledgment of yours of Nov. 1712, yet among private friends I have often expressed my *satisfaction* in the sense, stile and temper of it; and I now heartily accept such a correspondence, and wish the continuance of it, for the sake of our *common cause* of charity to souls, and zeal to our *Christian religion*.

‘ I was under a great temptation of *communi-*
‘ *cating* your letter to a *general meeting* of our So-
‘ ciety ; that I might have their *instructions* for an
‘ answer to the particulars contained in it.—But
‘ then I thought myself *restrained* by some *prudent*
‘ intimations of your own ; and I was very unwill-
‘ ing to draw you into any controversy or envy,
‘ that too often attend us for speaking PLAIN
‘ TRUTHS : For such indeed I believe are the kind
‘ informations you give me relating to the *places*
‘ you mention—It is possible we are not so in-
‘ tent upon our business, *as if it were for filthy*
‘ *lucre*—We are less *exact* in our correspondence
‘ and *accounts*, than if the dear liberty and property
‘ of *this world* depended on it—However, our ge-
‘ neral aim is, to pursue our general commission
‘ of *planting christianity* according to the church of
‘ England, in those parts of our English planta-
‘ tions, *where there is no settled ministry* : or,’ &c.—

After speaking of the difficulties which the So-
ciety were under, in respect of their distance from
America, the disagreement of accounts from hence,
and expressing some hope that the time would
come, when the English in America should be ‘ all
‘ of one heart, and one way of discipline and wor-
‘ ship,’ with several other particulars, the Dean
concludes his letter in the friendly and catholic
manner following—‘ Our exchanging, Sir, the good
‘ offices of common charity and a public spirit,
‘ will help much, under God’s blessing, to *enlarge*
‘ our understandings and our affections also to each
‘ other ; and so to meet *nearer* upon earth, and in-
‘ *separably* in heaven. Let these be our mutual
‘ prayers and endeavours. I am, dear Sir, your
‘ affectionate *Friend and Brother*.

WHITE KENNET.’

Now,

Now, the manner in which episcopal churches have been founded in the Massachusetts and Connecticut, has all along in general borne but too near a resemblance to that represented in Dr. COLMAN's letter aforesaid: And the worthy Dean was so just as to express his intire belief of what the Dr. said *relating to the places which he mentioned*; supposing these representations to be some of those *plain truths*, which too often draw people into *controversy* and *envy*. He also speaks of it as the primary design of the Society's institution, to plant episcopal churches 'in those parts of our English plantations where there is *no settled ministry*;' though not exclusively of those, where there are 'good numbers who cannot in conscience conform to the ways of worship different from the established church' of England. The invalidity of which plea of *conscience*, as it relates to the present controversy, will be shewn hereafter.

SECTION VIII.

That the aforesaid Conduct of the Society is not agreeable to the Letter or Spirit of their Charter.

SUPPOSING the truth of the *principal* facts represented in the foregoing sections; particularly as to the state of religion in New-England, the number of missionaries, &c. maintained here by the Society, and the places in which they are supported; which I consider as the *principal* facts, even in distinction from the *dishonourable manner* in which episcopal parties have often arose, been encouraged, and increased here; (which is considered only as an incidental circumstance, not a principal fact, upon which the argument finally turns) Supposing

the truth of those facts, I say, almost any unprejudiced person may easily see, that such a conduct in the Society is not conformable to their charter in any one material circumstance, but essentially repugnant thereto. The contrast, or the opposition betwixt the charter and such a conduct, may be made to appear in a very few words.

1. It is allowed on all hands, that one material end of this institution, according to the charter, was, *propagating the gospel* among the *heathen* bordering on the British plantations. But no one will pretend to say, that the missionaries in New-England are employed directly in *that good work*.

2. Another end was, the maintaining a public worship in those colonies, where the people, though called Christians, were “*wholly* destitute and unprovided,”—where they “*wanted* the administration of God’s word and sacraments, and seemed to be abandoned to *atheism* and *infidelity*,” &c. But, that this neither is, nor ever was, the true state of New-England, at least not of the Massachusetts and Connecticut, is sufficiently apparent.

3. Another end of the institution, which is indeed the first mentioned in the charter, was, the benefit and assistance of those plantations, in which, though there were such ministers as are designed in the charter, yet there was not a tolerable or competent provision made for their subsistence; or, in the words of the charter, in which the provision made for them was “*very mean*.” Whereas it is a known fact, that in most of those places in New-England where the Society support missions, there was a legal and competent provision before made for the support of an “*able, learned, orthodox*” ministry.

4. These three are the *only* ends of the institution expressly mentioned in, or that can fairly be inferred

red from the charter of the Society. And consequently, if they have annually expended a large sum here in New-England, not conformably to either of them, this must needs be a mis-application. Whatever they have expended, more or less, to accomplish ends different from these, or such as are not directly subservient to them, has been laid out in a manner not warranted by the charter; and therefore perverted and alienated from the true, important ends of their institution. Let the Knowing and Impartial judge, whether this conclusion is fairly drawn or not, supposing the truth of the facts aforesaid; which are indeed too notorious to admit of a denial.

SECTION IX.

Of Objections against the Reasoning in the preceding Sections; and particularly as to a learned and orthodox Ministry.

IF the facts aforesaid are allowed, no *solid objection*, it is conceived, can be brought against the general conclusion as to the perversion or mis-application of the Society's charity; though a person who sets himself to invent *evasions*, may possibly think of a number of *weak ones*. And the ingenious Mr. *Apthorp* has been so lucky as to hit upon several such in his *Considerations*, designed to vindicate the Society against that charge which has often been brought against their conduct in respect of New-England. One of these evasions has already been hinted at: But it may be proper to speak of it a little more distinctly, tho' briefly, here——It is said, the ministers spoken of in the charter

charter, are spoken of under the designation of “learned and orthodox.”

Now, as to *learning* ; though the ministers educated in our young, but growing Colleges in New-England, may not vie with this gentleman, who brought with him the *advantageous* reputation of a considerable Scholar from one of the ancient and renowned British Universities, in which, it is said, he reaped some laurels;—a reputation which he doubtless merited ; yet, as the truly knowing and learned, are generally *candid* also, it is hoped that he will not absolutely deny *that qualification* to our clergy, in the degree necessary to render them useful and sufficient ministers, provided they are not defective in the other material point, *orthodoxy*. And, to do the gentleman justice, he seems wholly to wave the former, and to deny our clergy *nothing but orthodoxy* ; in which, other people generally suppose, they are not deficient. After mentioning it as the primary design of the institution aforesaid, to “provide a maintenance for an orthodox clergy ;” he subjoins, “which (as the charter was obtained by the members of the church of England) must, in all reasonable construction, mean a clergy of their own church *.” So that, there being no such ministers amongst *Us*, in the sense of the charter, it was incumbent upon the Society to supply Boston, Cambridge, &c. &c. with *orthodox* missionaries : in doing which, they conform to the original and *charitable* design of their institution. This is the obvious intent of what the gentleman says upon this head ; though, for certain prudential reasons, he did not chuse, in a more explicit manner, to monopolize *all the orthodoxy* in New-England to himself, the other missionaries, and the people of the church of England ; stigmatizing all our ministers and churches as *heretical* or *unorthodox*.

* *Confid.* p. 11.

This is indeed the unavoidable consequence of his appropriating and confining the terms *orthodox ministers*, to those of the episcopal communion. But, to have reproached us thus in plain words, might have been a *bolder* stroke than the *times* would well bear as yet; and so, rather prejudiced than served the cause in which he is engaged. This might perhaps have contributed to frustrate the modest hopes which he expressed of great accessions to the episcopal party at Cambridge, in his letter to the Society soon after his mission there, dated Aug. 30. 1760. some time before the church was “fit for divine service.” For it is said in the *abstract* printed in 1761, that Mr. *Apthorp* had written, that the “building of the church was in
 “such forwardness, that he hoped it would be fit
 “for divine service in *November*; and particular
 “care had been taken to make the structure useful
 “and durable, as well as decently elegant; and, in
 “case of *future accessions* to the congregation, it
 “might be *easily enlarged*; and he had the satisfac-
 “tion to add, that it *already promised* to be one of
 “the *best supported*, and *most flourishing churches* in
 “America*.” It would doubtless be a great pity that the gentleman’s wishes and expectations should prove abortive, if there is no *orthodox* minister in Cambridge besides himself, though there are three of our congregational churches, as well as the College, in that town.

But the following considerations, some of which were before hinted at, will be sufficient to shew that our ministers are not destitute of *orthodoxy*, although they are not conformists to the church of England; and that the gentleman is a little too selfish, in endeavouring to engross the whole of that precious *commodity* to himself and his party. Though if *orthodoxy* has the property

* *Abstract*, 1761, p. 44, 45.

which an eminent divine of the church of England * sarcastically ascribes to it,——that of “covering a multitude of sins,” I will not deny, but yet do not affirm, that they have rather more *occasion* for it than those whom they would strip of it, leaving them nothing *better* than *charity* to supply its place——

Orthodoxy, in the commonly-received sense of the word amongst protestants at least, notwithstanding its general etymology, relates particularly to doctrinal points, or articles of faith, as distinguished from opinions about the best modes of ecclesiastic polity, external order, rites and ceremonies. To these latter it has no reference in its most common use. And it can hardly be supposed, that a gentleman so well skilled in Christian philology as Mr. *Apthorp*, will dispute this point.

From whence it follows, that ministers or churches differing widely in opinion about an hierarchy, discipline, and modes of worship, may yet be equally orthodox; agreeing nearly in the same common faith respecting GOD, JESUS CHRIST, his offices and redemption.

It is also a known fact, that the ministers and churches in New-England, with a very few exceptions, if any, agree in doctrinal points, and therefore in respect of orthodoxy, with the church of England, according to her articles relative to these points.

It is moreover known, or at least generally supposed amongst us, that our New-England ministers, a very few excepted, adhere much more closely in their preaching, both to the letter and spirit of those doctrinal articles, than most of the episcopal clergy themselves, whether here or in England. And if this be fact, as I am fully persuaded it is, the former are really *more* orthodox than the latter, even

* Bp. HARE, *Difficulties and Discouragements*, &c.

according to the articles of their own church. Besides :

By the same rule that this gentleman and some others deny our ministers the title of orthodox, limiting it to the “clergy of their own church;” they must deny it to the ministers of the established church of Scotland, and of all other churches, except perhaps that of Rome. For none of them fully agree with the church of England; except in doctrinal points, as we also do; which, it seems, is not sufficient to denominate them orthodox. According to which pretence, there will be no orthodox ministers in the world, except of the church of England: And is not this very modest and candid!

Divers of *our* laws relative to ministers, and in which they are designed as orthodox, having had the allowance of the King, the Head of the English church, this seems to be a royal acknowledgment of their orthodoxy. And is it not somewhat presumptuous for any of the members of that body to contradict their Head!

Notwithstanding those ministers and churches in England, with which ours in New-England very nearly agree in doctrine, discipline and worship, have often been abused by the episcopalians as *schismatical*, on account of their dissent from the church there established; yet they have not often been reproached as heterodox, heretical or un-orthodox in that respect. So far from it, that I do not think there can be a single episcopal divine of reputation produced, or other approved writer on that side within a century past, who has taxed them in a body as heretics, or denied them to be orthodox, on account of their non-conformity. Mr. *Apthorp* seems to have forgotten that the episcopal divines in England, even in their highest flights, have generally distinguished betwixt heterodoxy and schism; while he, it seems, is for confounding them together,

ther, and will not allow us to be orthodox even in New-England, unless we will become conformists to a church that is not established here.

It has before been observed, how unnatural it is to suppose that King WILLIAM designed to limit the terms "orthodox ministers" in the charter, to those of the church of England; and thereby to brand the ministers of all other protestant churches as heterodox; which were to suppose that catholic-spirited Prince as great a bigot as any of his royal predecessors.

Besides: The whole air and complexion of the charter are catholic in the highest degree: There is no hint or allusion therein as to any differences amongst protestants. The grand end proposed therein, is propagating the *gospel*, the principles of *true religion*, and the *Christian religion*, in opposition to *atheism*, *infidelity* and *popery*: And orthodox ministers stand there in direct opposition to popish priests and jesuits; as before observed. It is therefore contrary to all the rules of good criticism, as well as to catholic christianity, to appropriate and confine these terms to the ministers of the church of England, and thereby to hereticate the ministers of all other protestant churches. Nothing can be less conformable to the language, and whole spirit of the charter.

If this argument of Mr. *Apthorp* were of any force, it is not easy to see why the Society might not send missionaries into Scotland to convert the Kirk to Episcopacy, by virtue of their charter, as well as into New-England, to convert us; excepting only that Scotland is not a "plantation, colony or factory beyond seas;" and, in that respect, certainly not within the design of the charter.

This point may be now dismissed with reminding the reader of the reply of Mr. HOBART to some of his antagonists, relative thereto. "If," said he,
 "they

“ they think that none but the clergy of the church
 “ of England are in a legal sense *orthodox* minis-
 “ ters, Dr. MACSPARRAN can inform them how
 “ that matter was determined by the King in
 “ council, in the case between him and Mr.
 “ TORREY*.” †

* *Second Address*, p. 143.

† Some of the more bigotted sort of episcopalians amongst us, scruple not to say boldly and plumply, that we have no gospel ministers at all; no sacraments, or gospel-ordinances, nor any christian churches; for this goodly reason, that our ministers have not had episcopal ordination after the mode of the church of England. Where they learn this silly cant, it is not worth while to enquire. I am not willing to impute such pitiful conceits to the ingenious Mr. *Apib.rp*; especially since his anonymous friend in the piece dated at Cambridge the 25th March last, and published in the *New-England Chronicle*, speaks of him as no bigot, but a catholic-spirited gentleman;—as one who is “ so far from thinking every punctilio in the modes of
 “ worship established in the church of England, *jure divino*, that
 “ he makes no scruple to confess even to those who *secede* from
 “ her, that he is of opinion no particular mode of worship can
 “ be precisely ascertained from any thing revealed in the New
 “ Testament, and that therefore mutual forbearance ought to be
 “ exercised in this respect.”—as one “ publicly averring he de-
 “ fired not to *make one proselyte from the congregational church*,”
 —and “ keeping up a friendly interchange of visits with its
 “ PASTOR”—There seems, however, to be some difficulty in reconciling this declaration, that he *desires not to make one proselyte from the congregational church*, with the hopes expressed in his letter to the Society, of *future accessions to his own congregation*, so that there might be occasion for *enlarging* the church, &c. (see before, p. 59) But perhaps it was from the College only, not from the congregational church at Cambridge, that he flattered himself with such large *accessions* to the small episcopal party there. In which respect the gentleman is supposed to have been not a little disappointed——

SECTION

SECTION X.

The Plea of Conscience, as it relates to the present Question, considered.

BY way of answer to the objection so often made against the Society's conduct in supporting missions in those colonies, where the people "have the means of religion already, in other Protestant communions;" Mr. *Apthorp* says, "This is not universally true: or wherever it happily is true; this brings us back to the claim of liberty of conscience. The means of religion are NO MEANS to him whose conscience cannot use, or does not approve them: no more than Popery or Mahometanism afford the means of religion to a good Protestant, who happens to reside in Popish or Mahometan countries *." Something of this sort has been said in divers of the anniversary sermons before the Society; and Mr. *Apthorp* might perhaps take the hint from that excellent Prelate "who now so worthily *presides over the church of England*," [I hope he meant in subordination to the King] "AND THE SOCIETY ITSELF;" (*Conf.* p. 19.) This great Prelate, a distinguished member of the Society, is one of the two witnesses whom Mr. *Apthorp* summons to bear "testimony" in favour of the Society, after producing that of Bishop BERKLEY, another member of the Society, in this cause. Speaking of whom conjunctly, he says, he "confidently rests his *proof* on the unexceptionable testimony of two most candid and truly Christian Prelates," &c. (p. 18.) The testimony of the worthy Bishop BERKLEY has already been taken notice of. The other of these witnesses is quoted by Mr. *Apthorp* as having given an

* *Confid.* p. 14.

answer similar to his own, to the objection aforesaid, in the following words——“ An objection to the conduct of the Society is, that they have sent missionaries to some places in which there were already Christian assemblies established and supported. But in the *least* exceptionable of *these assemblies*, there are several things which the *consciences* of many (we apprehend, with great reason) cannot acquiesce in; who were not therefore to be left destitute of public worship; especially as our charter was granted in express terms, *for the maintenance of an orthodox clergy in those parts*†.” So that, it seems, one material point which his GRACE is called to bear testimony to, is, that the *consciences* of many people in these parts cannot *acquiesce* in several things found even in *the least exceptionable of our Christian assemblies*, &c. Let me make a few remarks upon the foregoing passage in the *Considerations*, thus supported by the *testimony* of this great Prelate. And,

1. Mr. *Apthorp* plainly allows that the people in some of the colonies have the means of religion already, without the Society's charity, *in other protestant communions*; by saying that *this is not universally true; or wherever it happily is true*, &c.

2. If this is *happily true* in any of the American colonies, I conclude he will allow it to be so in this province and in Connecticut, which have much the fairest pretensions to such a pre-eminence; and to the proceedings of the Society in which, the objection principally relates. It is therefore conceived, that it may be naturally taken as a concession of Mr. *Apthorp*, that in these principal parts of New-England, where so many episcopal missions have been supported by the Society, the inhabitants

† *Consid.* p. 21.

had the means of religion already, *in other protestant communions.*

3. Therefore, according to the reasoning in the preceding sections, which needs not to be here repeated, these are not *such* colonies as were the proper objects of that charity: For their state in respect of religion, is essentially different from that of the places described in the charter, and for which a charitable provision was made thereby. So that the money expended here by the Society as aforesaid, is not employed in conformity to the true intent of the charter: For who can, with the least appearance of reason, say, that the charter makes provision for those plantations, in which the people enjoyed the means of religion already, in *ANY protestant communion?*—those in which a sufficient number of protestant ministers of *ANY* denomination were competently provided for, and God's public worship was constantly upheld?

4. As to the plea of *conscience*, That there are some persons amongst us, who cannot use the means of religion, which they have in our *protestant communions*; and that to such persons these are *NO* MEANS, any more than Popery or Mahometanism, &c. if these very conscientious people were as intirely protestant in their sentiments, as our communions are in their nature, it might perhaps in part remove the difficulty. What there is in the least exceptionable of our truly Christian and protestant assemblies, which should give offence to the consciences of sincere, good protestants, neither Mr. *Apthorp* nor his GRACE has particularly declared: Whether it be the preaching, so strictly agreeable in general to the doctrinal articles of the church of England; or the devout prayers, not read to God, but dictated by the heart, as in the truly primitive and apostolic churches; or the administration of the sacraments in the most simple and scriptural manner

manner, without any of those additions which the wisdom of the clergy afterwards invented; or whether it be any thing else, we are left to conjecture; and so cannot particularly answer this objection against our *protestant communions*, as Mr. *Apthorp*, or *Christian assemblies*, as his GRACE is pleased to call them. It seems they both decline giving these the name of *churches*: But for what reason, it is not easy to say. It is to be hoped, they can form some idea of a truly christian and protestant church, without a King or Queen at its head; without numerous acts of parliament to model its constitution, and establish its ceremonial's; without printed forms of devotion; and without an hierarchy resembling that of the Romish church, in which *one* great Prelate *presides* over the whole, with all the inferior religious orders, the lowest of which are as it were trodden in the dirt;—an hierarchy which, in a word, may be compared to JACOB's ladder,

“ Its foot on earth, its top above the skies.”

If there are any persons amongst us, who have no conceptions of a truly Christian church, but in connection with such things as these, it is not indeed strange that the means of public religion which they might have in our *protestant communions*, should be NO MEANS to them; or that their consciences should not fully *acquiesce* in them; not even so readily as they might in *Popery*. Indeed I have myself heard some episcopalians amongst us, who were reckoned very good church-men, say, that they should much prefer the *communion* of the church of Rome to ours; and would sooner go to mass than come to our assemblies, if there were here any Romish, and no English churches. This I declare, of my own certain knowledge, and could mention names; and I have divers times heard credible persons speak of some *conscientious*

episcopalians amongst us, as expressing themselves after the same manner: Though, to do them justice, I do not suppose that these sentiments generally prevail amongst them. Some of them may *possibly*, without going these lengths, have conscientious scruples about the means of religion in our *protestant communions*: But to say, that because there are some things or circumstances attending them, which they cannot intirely *acquiesce* in or *approve* of, therefore they are absolutely NO MEANS at all to them, is at best a very extraordinary position. However,

5. It is readily granted, that great allowances ought to be made for *weak* and *scrupulous*, *tender*, and even *erroneous* consciences; and for the prejudices of education, in matters merely of a religious nature. And this plea of conscience ought to be allowed valid thus far, *viz.* That these conscientious people among us should not be *compelled* to join in our *protestant communion*; but left intirely at liberty to worship God according to the episcopal mode, even though we may think it considerably less protestant and scriptural than our own. Indeed there are not a few of them, whom we should be far from *desiring* to see coming to *our communion*, unless they were much more *conscientious* in some other respects, than they appear to be—— The government here neither pretends nor desires to deprive them of their religious liberty: Though, by the way, had the government in England allowed our Fore-fathers the like liberty of conscience, they would have had no occasion to take refuge in New-England, from their sufferings for non-conformity. But,

6. How good a plea soever this of conscience may be for liberty, in opposition to all *restraint* or *constraint* in matters purely religious; yet it seems far from a solid one as used by his Grace the Arch-
bishop

bishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Apthorp, in order to justify the Society in the application of so much of their money, or even any part of it, for the support and increase of the episcopal party among us. The reason is obvious from what has been said before: Their whole fund and revenue are *otherwise appropriated* by their charter itself; viz. to the propagating the gospel among the Heathen, and to the maintenance of God's public worship in those plantations, in which no competent provision was before made for ministers; and in which the people, for want of the means of religion in any protestant communion, seemed abandoned to atheism and infidelity, or in imminent danger of being perverted to popery. To alienate their revenue from *these* important ends, under a pretence of gratifying some *scrupulous consciences*, in places where a legal and competent provision was before made for the maintenance of ministers, and a public, protestant religion; is a manifest abuse and perversion of that charity, even upon supposition that these conscientious people among us were much to be pitied, and really the objects of charity. If any persons in England, in their private capacity, should think it a deed of charity to advance money for supporting episcopal churches here, for the sake of those comparatively few *conscientious* people, to whom the means of religion which are to be had in our protestant communions, are NO MEANS at all, any more than Popery or Mahometanism; they have an undoubted right to do it. But the case of the Society is essentially different in this respect, from that of private persons: They have not the same right to dispose of their money, that a private man has to dispose of his property; the former being particularly appropriated to certain uses and ends, from which it may not be alienated to any others, even though good in themselves.

That argument which Mr. *Apthorp* quotes from the great Prelate aforesaid;—that “the charter “ was granted in express terms, for the maintenance “ of an *orthodox* clergy” in the colonies; cannot be thought one of his GRACE’s “ invincible reasons” which Mr. *Apthorp* speaks of, till it is proved that no clergy men besides those of the church of England, can properly be called *orthodox* ministers, even though they adhere to the doctrinal articles of that church more closely than her own clergy. But enough of this before. And the intelligent reader is now left to judge, whether Mr. *Apthorp* had reason to usher in his *two witnesses*, as he does in the following words—“ To take “ leave of this popular objection with *so full a consultation*, that it will be *disingenuous* ever to advance “ it again; the writer *confidently rests his proof on “ the unexceptionable testimony*,” &c.* That he does this *confidently*, no one will deny; but that these testimonies are so intirely *unexceptionable* in this cause, as to be a just ground for such confidence, is far less apparent;—especially considered as testimonies of the party *accused*. But yet it is not easy to see, why he might not call in the Society as witnesses in their own cause, with as much propriety at least, as he had before submitted his defence of them to their *own judgment and decision*. One of the witnesses, however, bishop BERKLEY, says nothing directly to the main point, as to the missions in those colonies wherein protestant churches were *before settled*: The other, his GRACE of *Canterbury*, does; but yet perhaps not so convincingly, as to render it quite *disingenuous* ever to *advance this objection again*.

* *Considerations*, p. 18.

SECTION XI.

Of the great Good which Mr. Apthorp supposes the Society have done by their Missionaries, in bettering the general State of Religion among us.

UPON this head the ingenious gentleman expresses himself thus: "That the state of religion among ourselves is now *so much superior* to what it was, when the missions were first appointed, is, under God, *so greatly the work of the Society*, that to give this reason for their withholding their protection from our churches, is to make the success and benefit of their design, an argument against it*."

1. Who ever gave this reason for their withholding their protection from the episcopal churches here, that the state of religion among ourselves is now *so much superior to what it was?* &c. They must be strange objectors indeed, who could object after this manner; which is the plain import of Mr. Apthorp's words. And one may be confident, without presumption, that no person among us ever objected against the Society's conduct, or their missionaries, that the state of religion among us is *much superior* to what it was formerly; though many have objected the direct contrary.

2. As to the important fact which Mr. Apthorp supposes, viz. that the state of religion here is *much superior* to what it formerly was; many persons who were men of observation before either Mr. Apthorp or I was born; who have always lived, and still are living, in the country, will by no means agree with him. In their opinion, the general state of religion in this country is not so good as

* *Considerations*, p. 17.

it was “when the missions were first appointed in “it;” though I will not myself assert any thing positively upon this head. But,

3. Though this fact were certainly true; yet it is by no means a clear point, that this reformation is *so greatly the work of the Society* or their missionaries, as he is pleased, in his great civility to them, to take for granted. I might engage to bring twenty persons, who think the religious state of the country worse than it was, and who attribute this in a great measure to the *same cause* to which he ascribes the reformation of it, for one that he can produce to support his double hypothesis. But supposing the reformation real; yet there is no reason to think that this is *greatly the work of the Society*, if at all.

4. Supposing the truth of both these facts; yet this will not justify the Society in a *misapplication* of monies entrusted with them; and neglecting those places which were the direct, proper objects of their charity, according to the charter. To plead the good done in such a case as this, however undisputed, though it may be considered as some apology for, yet it cannot be considered as a proper vindication of, those who did it; especially if it has occasioned the neglect of a much greater good to the heathens, or to those colonies wherein no tolerable provision was made for the administration of God’s word and sacraments. This plea is as invalid, as if, when a particular person is accused of misapplying the money put into his hands expressly for the use of A, perishing with hunger and cold; it should be alleged in his vindication, that he had laid it out for the benefit of B; and fed and cloathed him *more elegantly* than he was cloathed and fed before. How would this excuse him in leaving A, the intended and proper object of the charity, to perish for want of those things that

are *needful* for the body? The application is easy, and cannot be mistaken.

S E C T I O N XII.

Some farther reflections on the same Point, occasioned by the Considerations.

BUT Mr. *Apthorp* descends to some particulars, in which he supposes the state of religion among us is greatly improved by the charitable care of the Society. "Every one," says he, "who knows the history of this country, must acknowledge, that the religious state of it is manifestly improved: *notwithstanding the IMMORALITIES* and defects which we lament, and wish to reform in the present MANNERS and principles. Religion no longer wears among us that *savage* and gloomy appearance, with which *superstition* had terribly arrayed her: its speculative doctrines are freed from those *senseless horrors* with which *fanaticism* had perverted them: *Hypocrisy* has worn off, in proportion as men have seen the *beauty of holiness*: and above all, that exterminating monster *persecution*, is itself exterminated both from the temper and practice of the age. *Much indeed remains to be done in MANNERS and PIETY,*" &c.† How greatly are we indebted to the Society!

But yet here seems to be a concession, that the boasted reformation in the state of religion among us, very little, if at all consists in the improvement of our *morals, manners, and piety*. It is not pretended by Mr. *Apthorp*, that there has been any

† *Considerations*, p. 17.

considerable reformation in these respects, since the missions were first appointed here, which is *greatly the work of the Society*. But

He says, *Religion no longer wears among us that savage and gloomy appearance, &c.* And, not to dispute with this ingenious gentleman about small matters, it shall be allowed, (if that is what he means) that the *faces* of people in general are less *grave* and *solemn* than they were a century ago, or even since the institution of the Society : And this *improvement*, it may also be conceded, is *greatly the work of the Society*, by the instrumentality of those good gentlemen the missionaries, who commonly appear with a pretty gay, debonair, and jovial countenance. But it is not quite clear from hence, that *the state of religion is now much superior to what it was before*. If divers of our Forefathers had somewhat *too long faces*, and a too set, formal air ; yet they might be very pious, virtuous and worthy men. And though I would by no means deny the venerable Society or their missionaries any praise which may justly belong to them for contributing to the mirth, gaiety and chearfulness of our countenances ; yet methinks the gentleman went a little too far in using the expression *SAVAGE and gloomy appearance* ; partly (unless I mistake his meaning) to express his dislike to the *faces* of our good Fathers, some of whose pictures he may probably have seen. And it may perhaps be worthy of his consideration, whether this dislike might not in part be owing to the unskillfulness of the *painters* of those days. But be that as it may, it might still be worthy of his consideration, whether, since the missionaries came among us, many people are not run into an extreme quite opposite to gloominess and preciseness, and even to that gravity and sobriety which become the Christian character ; putting on a light, thoughtless air and behaviour. He will not deny but that

people

people may riot, laugh and frolic, curse, swear and game too much, as well as wear too grave and formal a countenance. Those are much worse, and more dangerous extremes than this. And many persons that were men before either of *us* was born, can attest that such excesses are, beyond all comparison, more frequent since the church of England prevailed here, than they were before; and have increased in some proportion to its flourishing. But, what the true cause hereof is, supposing the fact, is another point: And, for my own part, I will not affirm that this is *greatly the work of the Society*.

But the gentleman intimates, that the state of religion is much improved among us, in respect of its speculative doctrines, how little soever it may be in respect of *manners and piety*—*Its speculative doctrines*, says he, *are freed from those senseless horrors with which fanaticism had perverted them*. Let it be here observed,

1. That Mr. *Apthorp* seems not only too harsh, but a little impolitic in giving such an account of our Forefathers. He had just before spoken of religion among them, as having been *terribly arrayed by superstition*. And here they are represented as a parcel of wretched *Fanatics*, who had perverted the speculative doctrines of religion with *senseless horrors*. Mr. *Apthorp* in his *Considerations* (p. 23.) expresses great indignation at the Author of a supposed insult on the memory of a deceased missionary; which was yet, perhaps, no insult. But whose memory does this same gentleman now insult in so licentious a manner? In effect, the memory of all the pious Fathers of New-England, so justly venerable and dear to their posterity, whose faith is in substance the same with theirs to this day. So that he does, in a sort, insult the living and the dead at the same time; and not a few particular

particular persons only, but the people of a country in general. This, to be sure, does not seem the likeliest way to make proselytes to the church.—

2. This outrage is the more to be wondered at, because the gentleman does, by natural implication, insult the Fathers and Founders of his own church at the same time. For it is a known fact, that the *speculative doctrines* almost universally received and professed in New-England from first to last, are in effect the same with those of the church of England according to her articles. I suppose, with others, that the gentleman had here a more particular view to the Calvinistic doctrines of original sin, justification by faith alone, election and reprobation. In this sentiment I am confirmed by a passage in a sermon of Mr. *Apthorp*, published a year or two since; wherein he expresses himself with so much contempt and horror of those, who

“ draw portraits of the DEITY from the sanguinary passions of the worst men——representing
 “ the all-merciful Father as the tyrant of the universe, reprobating his creatures, pre-determining
 “ their crimes, and predestining their eternal misery:” of persons who falsely charge on Christianity opinions “ subversive of all moral obligation, leading weak minds into enthusiasm and
 “ licentiousness”—of persons by whom “ a just
 “ attention to the cause of virtue is reproached as
 “ derogating from the glories of HIM, *who hath*
 “ *sanctified us with His blood*: and the justification
 “ of sinners——is proposed in such a manner, as
 “ to render virtue useless and even a crime:——
 “ these horrors,” &c. † I believe hardly any one who reads this passage will doubt but that the Calvinistic doctrines aforesaid, are those to which Mr. *Apthorp* refers in his *Considerations*, as the *specula-*

† *The Constitution of a Christian Church*, &c. p. 8. Preached at the Consecration of the new Church in Cambridge.

tive doctrines of our *superstitious, fanatical* Forefathers; the effects of which are supposed to have been, the making them *savage* and *gloomy*, and filling them with *senseless horrors*. I would not be over confident; but yet take this to have been his true meaning. And, what the church of England professes in her articles respecting those doctrines, the reader may be pleased to see in the margin, where the substance of several articles is quoted: † Whereby one may be the better able to judge of Mr. *Apthorp's* sincerity and consistency in subscribing those articles as part of his faith; though it is indeed possible that he has altered his opinion since, as a very honest man might do. But,

† “ARTICLE IX. *Of original or Birth-Sin.* Original sin standeth not in the following of *Adam* (as the Pelagians do vainly talk) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man—and therefore in every person that is born into this world, *it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.*”—

“ARTICLE XI. *Of the Justification of Man.* We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by *faith*, and not for our *works* or *deservings.*”—

“ARTICLE XIII. *Of Works before Justification.* Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not *pleasant* to God—yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but that they have *the nature of sin.*”—

“ARTICLE XVII. *Of Predestination and Election.* Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation, *those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind*, to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour.—As the godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons;—so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, *to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination*, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into *desperation*, or into wretchedness of most *unclean living*, no less perilous than *desperation.*”—

3. To speak sincerely, I own it is my *private* opinion, that it has been too common a thing for people in New-England to express themselves in a manner justly exceptionable upon these points, however agreeably both to the letter and spirit of the articles aforesaid: But yet, I believe, not more exceptionably than many eminent divines of the Church of England did in the last century.

4. It is probably true, that for half a century past, many ministers and others in New-England have discoursed more cautiously upon those points than the greater part did before; and some perhaps have run into an opposite extreme: Which may be owing to the prevalence of the church of England amongst us; many of whose ministers, if not the most, have long preached in a strain almost diametrically opposite to the articles aforesaid. But upon supposition that we are really indebted to the Society or their missionaries in any degree, for freeing the speculative doctrines of religion amongst us, from what Mr. *Aptborp* calls *senseless horrors*; (which will not be generally allowed) yet we may well think it ungenerous and inconsistent in this gentleman, to revile our Forefathers as a company of superstitious, senseless Fanatics, for adhering so closely as they did to the doctrinal articles of the church of England.

Mr. *Aptborp* adds, as another particular of our reformation, which is greatly the work of the Society, that *hypocrisy has worn off in proportion as men have seen the beauty of holiness*. As to which it may be observed, that we have not more clearly seen the *beauty of holiness* since the prevalence of the church of England amongst us, than it was discerned before, except perhaps by way of *contrast*. He does not pretend to say, that the state of religion has been improved here, since the missions, in respect of *morals, manners or piety*. So that the
holiness

holiness which he speaks of, seems to be something distinct from these; and what sort of holiness that is, I will not pretend to conjecture. But whereas he supposes that *hypocrisy has worn off* in proportion to the glorious discovery of it in the church of England; I must observe, that the most detestable hypocrisy in the sight of God and wise men, is that which is shewn in a zeal for rites and ceremonies, for external modes and forms, especially uninstituted ones, the inventions of men; while the zealots are comparatively negligent of the weightier matters of the law and gospel. Of which kind of hypocrisy there has unquestionably been much more amongst us since the Society was instituted, than before. But, to what this is to be ascribed, is another question: I will not say, it is *greatly the work of the Society*.

Mr. *Apthorp* subjoins: *And above all, that exterminating monster persecution, is itself exterminated both from the temper and practice of the present age.* This he mentions as another instance in which the state of religion is manifestly improved among us, by means of the Society and the episcopal missions. And any one, ignorant of the country, would from hence naturally conclude, that there had been here *Acts of uniformity* in worship, rigorously put in execution, till the establishment of episcopal churches in these parts: For otherwise this is not so pertinently said, as might be expected from so ingenious a gentleman. But this is a mistake at best: No such acts ever took place here, so far as I have learnt. But if there were, in the early days of the country, some instances of unjustifiable severity towards the Quakers, &c. they were used much less under the notion of these people being dissenters from our mode of worship, than of their being disturbers of the peace, and of our religious assemblies; in which respects they were indeed very disorderly,

disorderly, abusive, and highly culpable. Some learned and good men in England, who had not a thorough understanding of the case, have, for this reason, passed much too harsh a judgment on the conduct of our Forefathers; though I will not undertake to vindicate all their conduct relative to this point. But supposing them to have been justly chargeable with some instances of persecution; from whom?—from what church did they learn this practice? Episcopalians, certainly, should lay their hands upon their mouths——

Moreover: How blameable soever our Forefathers might have been in this respect; yet how does it appear that our reformation therein is *greatly the work of the Society*? Nothing of that kind had been known amongst us for many years before the Society had any missionaries among us, or was itself in being. Nor is it a little odd that this gentleman should insinuate, that the posterity of those who so cruelly persecuted our Fathers out of England into America, should follow us hither to teach us charity and moderation, and to exterminate the *exterminating monster Persecution* from among us! Is he in jest or in earnest?—Wherever we learnt Christian forbearance and charity towards those that differ from us, he may be assured we did not learn it of the church of England; from which our beloved and honoured brethren in England, even at this day, do not in all respects find the kindest usage; being subjected to divers temporal inconveniences on account of their non-conformity. And notwithstanding the gentleman says, persecution is exterminated, both from the temper and practice of the present age; I have myself heard some of the episcopalians amongst us speak with much regret, and even indignation, of the *Act of toleration*, by which that of *uniformity* was in part repealed. Nay, it is credibly reported,
that

that some of the warm episcopalians here, have said, *They hoped for the time when they might shoot dissenters as freely as they might shoot pigeons.* Not a few of them discover a like spirit. Let the reader then judge, whether the exterminating monster is intirely exterminated; and if so, how greatly *this is the work of the Society* and their missionaries.

It does not appear, upon the whole, that we are at all indebted to the Society for the improvement of the state of religion amongst us, in any of the instances which this gentleman mentions: It is probably in some respects, particularly as to our *morals*, worse than if there had never been an episcopal church in these parts. But upon supposition that what Mr. *Apthorp* says as to this matter, was true in fact; still it must be remembered, that this is no justification of the Society in alienating their fund and revenues from their direct, proper ends expressed in the charter.

SECTION XIII.

Farther reflections relative to the Views and Conduct of the Society, the State of Religion in New-England, and the prevalence of Episcopacy here; with Remarks on some expressions in Dr. Bearcroft's sermon before the Society, 1744.

DR. BEARCROFT, who has many years been Secretary to the Society, near the beginning of his sermon before it, speaking of the design of the institution, expresses himself in a very rhetorical stile about the great "charity of bringing back their brethren in America to good manners and a christian life." And had he spoken only of pro-

fessed episcopalians, or of people in such an heathenish state as those in some of the colonies, no one would have doubted the charitableness of such a design. But to me it is evident that he comprehends us Congregationalists and Presbyterians in New-England, in the terms *brethren in America*. Taking this for granted, it may be observed, that how much soever we may be obliged to him for his catholicism in acknowledging us for his brethren, notwithstanding our apostacy from episcopacy; yet we are not much obliged to him for the insinuation, that we are sadly departed from good manners and a christian life; so that the design of the Society *to bring us back* thereto, is produced as an argument of their prodigious charity. And if by thus bringing us back, he really intended any thing more than converting us to episcopacy, the Society have hitherto failed very much in their charitable design. For though their missionaries have, first and last, made a considerable number of proselytes from our churches, many of whom needed to be bettered in their morals; yet it may be questioned whether any of them have thereby been brought back to good manners and a christian life: Possibly there may have been some, though I never knew an example of it. But the examples of the contrary are numerous: I mean, of persons whose morals, though not unexceptionable before, were apparently much worse after their being thus episcopally converted. It is a known fact among us, that these proselytes often become exceeding loose, profligate, vain and censorious; seemingly placing no small part of their religion in railing at their *unconverted*, i. e. congregational and presbyterian, neighbours, whose lives are christian, excepting this one capital fault, that they go to MEETING every Lord's-day!

The doctor a little afterwards seems to be quite in a rapture, when he says, “ The word of God mightily grows and prevails in New-England, according to the liturgy of the church of England.” Brave indeed! What good news was this from a far country?—that the word of God should mightily prevail here *according to the liturgy*; which he seems to consider as the standard, or the touchstone, by which *the word of God* was to be tried. I suppose he had lately been reading some of the pompous, hyperbolical accounts of the missionaries concerning the success of their pious labours. Of many of which accounts from time to time, as to the number of their converts, baptisms, communicants, &c. I have at present only time to say, that no person who knows any thing particularly about America, can read them without astonishment; though the direct proof of a *negative* in such cases, however false the accounts may be, is no easy matter—Could the Doctor have truly said, that pure religion mightily prevailed in New-England according to the Holy Scriptures, and that the converts to the church were generally pious, virtuous and good men, it might have been a triumph altogether as becoming a Christian divine, as that the word of God prevailed *according to the liturgy*. Or if he had said that the word, inventions, and commandments of men, mightily prevailed in New-England *according to the liturgy*, he might perhaps have come nearer the truth. But with some gentlemen, it seems, the liturgy! the liturgy! is all and all. If that is embraced, from whatever petulant, frivolous humour, or dishonourable motive, O! then, to be sure, the word of God mightily grows and prevails; and every *unstable* son of REUBEN, every thoughtless, giddy changeling or outcast, is, without more ado, represented as brought back to good manners and a christian life. These

profelytes are, perhaps, spoken of in the accounts transmitted to the Society, as persons of very good characters, of much consideration; and commended for their penetration. I lately met with a very remarkable account of the sagacity of some of them in one of the *abstracts*, and the prodigious improvement which they had made in a short time under the documents of a missionary: It was to this purpose; — They had discovered that there were in the liturgy *no remains of popery* and the *mass book*, as they had formerly supposed! — Nor are there a few episcopalians, who seem to have much the same opinion of *that composition*, that the old Ephesians had of their famous, adored image, which they were so confident, *fell down immediately from Jupiter*; and of their church, that those zealots had of their goddess, when they bawled by the space of two hours together, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*!

The Doctor says afterwards; “The powers there
 “in being [i. e. in New-England] to do them
 “justice, had taken care for God’s public worship,
 “and erecting schools for the education of their
 “youth:” — What occasion was there then for the Society to maintain missions and schools here at a great expence, to the neglect of the Heathen, and of those colonies in which no such pious care was taken by the Government; which, according to their charter, were the direct, proper objects of their charity? Is not this at best very mysterious? O, no! the Doctor explains himself in the next words — “but not in the true orthodox principles of the church of England!” — Sad indeed! And therefore we Congregationalists and Presbyterians in New-England, being in so much worse a state than the others, were proportionably so much the more proper objects of the Society’s charity; to the end that the word of God might
 mightily

mightily grow and prevail here *according to the liturgy*; whether the Heathen, and those that were but one degree better, had the word and gospel of God preached to them at all or not.—Here the Doctor explains at least the sentiments of his own soul, probably the views of the Society also. But can the unprejudiced even among the episcopalians, think it a matter of equal importance to convert us to episcopacy, and some confessedly *unnecessary* ceremonies, however *decent*, as to propagate the knowledge of the only true God and Jesus Christ among the Heathen, or in heathenish places, where there is hardly any appearance of religion? It were doubtless better that we should be destitute of those super-eminent, super-abundant, and, if I may be allowed the expression, super-scriptural means of grace and salvation, which are to be had in the communion of the church of England, than that any of those for whom Christ died, should perish for want of God's *own word and sacraments*, or be perverted to Popish *superstition and idolatry*.

It would doubtless rejoice the Doctor's heart, if *the powers here in being*, instead of contenting themselves with taking care for God's public worship according to his *own word only*, should be convinced of their error and neglect in this respect; and for the future take care for it *according to the liturgy*: Which may be about as much of an *improvement* upon the Bible, as some of the Society's conduct is upon their original plan according to their charter. Yea, I believe it would not a little refresh the good gentleman, only to hear that the *Powers in being in New-England* (if such a thing should ever be) on some public occasion, went in a body to church; though it were only from the same principle that the great Syrian Captain and Courtier formerly attended his royal master to the house of RIMMON, when he went to bow and worship

there *. The Doctor might probably consider this as an indication, that they were gradually coming off from their *stiffness* and *preciseness*; possibly conclude, that in their hearts they condemned their Forefathers separation from the church of England; and intended to lead the rising generation into an opinion, that the differences betwixt that communion and ours are quite inconsiderable. How might this exalt his hopes into a plerophory? And what a sure presage would it be, that the glorious æra was nigh at hand, when the word of God should still more mightily grow and prevail in New-England *according to the liturgy!*——

S E C T I O N X I V .

That the Society have long had a formal design to root out Presbyterianism, &c. and to establish both Episcopacy and Bishops in the colonies: In pursuance of which favourite project, they have in a great measure neglected the important ends of their institution.

IT is hardly possible to account for the Society's conduct, without supposing them to have had such a design; and this being once supposed, it will serve to explain, and shew the consistency thereof; not indeed with the charter, but with itself. And as to the truth of the fact, that they have long had this design; such evidence shall now be produced, as may in *this case* be deemed the best, *their own*.

In the *Account of the Society*, published 1706, which has been mentioned before, after speaking of

* 2 Kings, ch. vi.

the “independent congregations” in New-England, they say: “Several other ways of division
“and separation did so much obtain in other of
“our colonies and plantations, that this made it
“more necessary to think of providing for a regular and orthodox ministry to be sent and settled
“amongst them; to remove those *prejudices* under
“which the people generally laboured, and to promote, as much as possible, an AGREEMENT in faith
“and worship —*” This can mean nothing more or less than *uniformity*, or a general conformity to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the church of England: Which seems to have been what some had in view, even before the institution of the Society; though there is nothing in the charter which countenances the propagation of the church of England, in opposition to other protestant churches; as before observed.

In the same *Account* they say, They have been
“careful of recommending the discipline of the
“church of England as far as the constitution of
“those countries will *possibly* admit. The want of
“a *Bishop* or suffragan in those parts was often
“complained of——And this matter has been
“carried as far as the difficulties in it would hitherto allow, and is under such farther solicitation and advances, that we hope *shortly* to see a
“happy success of it. In the mean time, all young
“students in those parts, who desire *episcopal* ordination, are invited into England; and their
“*expences* in coming and returning are to be defrayed by the Society†.”

In the *Abstract* printed 1711, they say, “It
“having been frequently represented to the Society, that there is great want of a Bishop to govern
“those missionaries, whom the Society has or shall,
“from time to time, send over to New-England,

* *Account*, &c. p. 11.

† P. 74.

“ —as well as the rest of the clergy in those and
 “ the adjacent colonies ; and to ordain others, and
 “ to confirm the children of the clergy and laity ;
 “ this matter has been most seriously considered of,
 “ and is yet depending before the Society, and in
 “ the mean time, and *till they can bring it to bear*,
 “ they are looking out for the best and most com-
 “ modious place,—to fix the *See* for the said Bi-
 “ shop*.” —

Dr. KENNET, a member of the Society, part of whose letter to Dr. COLMAN was quoted before, says in another paragraph, “ It is our being *misin-*
 “ *formed* and *misguided* in some ways, that in-
 “ creases our desires of having *Bishops* settled in
 “ those foreign parts committed to our care.——
 “ I hope *your churches* would not be *jealous* of
 “ it,” &c.

In the *Abstract* printed 1715, the Society say,
 “ After all, upon the renewed instances from the
 “ *governors of provinces*, ministers, vestries, and
 “ private persons in the plantations, for settling
 “ ecclesiastical *Superiors* there, without whom the
 “ *church must rather decrease than increase*; and
 “ from a full conviction of the expediency there-
 “ of, *Bishops* being never more wanted there than
 “ now; the Society’s endeavours have been em-
 “ ployed, not without *expence* this year, in *paving*
 “ *the way for such*, by all proper *applications*, and
 “ *due preparations*: Not to mention what has been
 “ formerly done in this matter†,” &c.——And
 “ by way of preparation for a *Suffragan*, or *Bi-*
 “ *shop*, in one of the *Sees* upon the continent of
 “ America; the Society having thought fit to pur-
 “ chase a seat for his residence some while since at
 “ 600*l.* sterling *expence*‡,” &c. There are se-
 “ veral pages of this *Abstract* filled with this affair of

* *Abstract* 1711. p. 27, 28.

† P. 52.

‡ P. 54.

Bishops in America. Later *Abstracts* and other records might easily be produced, in order to shew what a favourite object this has been with the Society. And one standing instruction of the Society to their missionaries, is in these remarkable words, viz. “X. That they frequently visit their respective “parishioners; those of *our own communion*, to “keep them steady in the profession and practice “of religion, as taught in the church of England; “and those that *oppose us*, or *dissent from us*, to “CONVINCE and RECLAIM them,” &c. This clearly shews what they are after. It will also be observed here, that WE are considered as PARISHIONERS of the missionaries, no less than professed episcopalians: And we are often spoken of AS SUCH by them in their letters to the Society, as appears by the *Abstracts*. How *assuming* is this!—

The affair of Bishops has lately been, and probably now is, in agitation in England. And we see the Society spare neither *endeavours*, *applications*, nor *expence*, in order to effect their grand design of *episcopizing* (if I may use the term) all New-England as well as the other colonies. And it is supposed by many, that a certain *superb edifice* in a neighbouring town, was even from the foundation designed for the *Palace* of one of the *bumble successors* of the apostles.

But however that matter may be, the following things are evident:

1. That the Society have long had a formal design to dissolve and root out all our New-England churches; or, in other words, to reduce them all to the episcopal form; or, in the words of their *own Account*, before cited, “to promote, *as much* “*as possible* an agreement [uniformity] in faith and “worship”——

2. This fully and clearly accounts for their being so ready to encourage *small episcopal parties* all over New-

New-England, by sending them missionaries, &c. although the people had the “means of religion” already, in other protestant communions.” For these handfuls of people, scattered here and there, it is supposed, or at least hoped, will in time, by some means or other, become considerable for numbers; and at length eat out, or absorb, all our churches.

But supposing them finally to carry this favourite point, at a vast expence, as I hope in God they never will; yet one would think it impossible even for themselves to imagine, that the interest of religion in the colonies would be a quarter part so much served hereby, as if they had employed this money in those ways which are plainly pointed out in the charter, and from which they have alienated it. Is the effecting an exact *uniformity* among us in discipline, modes of worship, ceremonies, &c. an object worthy of any attention or expence, in comparison with that of maintaining a public worship in places destitute thereof, or the conversion of the Heathen! Can wise men, free from bigotry and the spirit of party, possibly think it is, though they are themselves episcopalians in sentiment?

SECTION XV.

That by supporting little Episcopal Parties in New-England, and endeavouring to convert Presbyterians, &c. to the Church of England, contrary to the whole spirit of the Charter, the Society have actually defrauded the People who were the proper Objects of their Charity.

IF the Society's fund, together with the annual collections, legacies, &c. had been more than adequate to the real exigencies of those people who

who were indisputably the proper objects of that charitable institution; and they had applied only the *surplusage* for the support and encouragement of the episcopal party in New-England, in opposition to presbyterians, &c. their conduct would have been much less exceptionable than it is: Since, upon this supposition, others would not have been *injured* by such an application. Though even in this case, it might well be questioned whether their conduct would have been intirely justifiable; because their charter warrants neither their receiving nor expending any money for supporting any one party whatsoever amongst protestants, in opposition to another; but only for the common cause of *Christianity*, in opposition to atheism, infidelity and popery. But the Society have by no means thus abounded in money. They have been making great complaints for half a century past, how straitened they were for money; how much their annual expences exceeded their certain annual income. Dr. HURTON, bishop of Bangor, in his sermon before the Society 1745, (p. 24.) says, they have borne “an expence frequently more than “ *five times* equal to their certain annual income.” These representations have been very pathetically made from time to time, in order to induce good people of *all denominations* to assist them in so pious a work, as that of supporting the public worship of God in those colonies which must otherwise be destitute of it, and propagating the gospel among the poor *Negroes* and *Indians*. This shall at any time be proved at large by quotations from the sermons, and other publications of the Society, if any person of reputation denies it, as I am confident no one will presume to do. And yet, while these loud, and almost tragical complaints have been making, the Society have been expending large sums every year in New-England, quite beyond

yond the design of their institution, to support and increase the episcopal party as such; greatly to the neglect of the Southern colonies upon the continent, the Indians bordering upon us, the West India islands, and the many thousands of Negro slaves in them; all of which and whom were the direct proper objects of their charity; and whose *names* were made use of most pathetically, to excite compassion in, and draw money from, well-disposed people of *every* denomination! It needs no proof, that by how much more was done by the Society for the support of the episcopal party here; by so much less must unavoidably have been done for the Heathen, or for the colonies in a state but little better than that of heathenism. And if the Society cannot, in this respect, be said to have “robbed” “other churches,” to ease and gratify the episcopalians here; yet they may be said to have *robbed* the Heathen, the slaves, and heathenish colonies aforesaid; who had an exclusive right, according to the charter, to the benefit of that very money which has been sunk in the episcopal gulph here, where the people actually “had the means of religion in other protestant communions.” He that can consider these facts, and such a flagrant abuse of a noble institution, without *admiration*, has doubtless that qualification which the poet speaks of, as the most essential foundation of happiness—

*Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
Solaque quæ prossit facere & servare beatum.*

Even upon supposition that the Society has such an extraordinary “discretionary power” as Mr. *Apthorp* speaks of; (which will hereafter be considered) so that they cannot be justly charged with violating their charter, by expending their money for the support of an episcopal party in New-England,

land, to the prejudice of other colonies, &c. or if they have a *legal right* to act thus; yet in how extraordinary and unaccountable a manner do they use that supposed right and power! Can any wise and candid man, who allows the main facts and circumstances as before represented, possibly think the interests of CHRIST's kingdom so much served in this way, as they might have been by a different conduct in the Society? If they are not, this is certainly a misapplication both of their charity and their power, in some degree. For whatever powers or monies the Society are entrusted with, they were to be employed in such a manner as should most effectually answer the ends expressly mentioned in their charter. And they have all along professed to apply their fund and revenues in such a manner as should be likely to do the most good, and best to serve the general interest of religion in the colonies, and adjacent countries. That they have not done so, but alienated their revenues from a truly noble, to a comparatively mean, narrow, party design, is as certain as any thing of this nature can be: tho' I would by no means be understood as charging so respectable a BODY with any wilful, criminal abuse of power, or misapplication of monies.

SECTION

SECTION XVI.

Of the good that might probably have been done, had the monies which have been misapplied in supporting the Episcopal Party in New-England, been applied according to the true and noble Design of the Institution.

IT is no inconsiderable sum that the Society have sunk in the episcopal gulph here in New-England, quite beyond, and therefore contrary to, the design of their institution; there being no medium, as has before been observed, betwixt a right application of their fund, conformable to their charter, and a perversion of it. According to the *Abstract* 1730, £. 705 sterling was expended on the missions, &c. in New-England. In 1739, the sum was £. 1030 sterling. And in 1761, the latest *Abstract* which I have been able to procure, it was £. 1270. These disbursements, it must be remembered, are exclusive of books to be distributed, and other incidental charges. So that, according to a moderate calculation, there may have been about £. 1200 sterling expended by the Society for New-England, one year with another, for 32 years past; amounting to £. 38,400

And about £. 200 *per Annum* for 20

years preceding 1730, amounting to 4,000

Total, Er. excepted, 42,400 sterl.

But then a deduction is to be made on account of that part of this sum which may have been expended conformably to the design of the charter, in supporting the public worship in some places in New-England, particularly Rhode-Island govern-

ment, where the Society's charity was needed. If we deduct £. 7400, there has been about 35,000 sterl. misapplied in New-England, according to the reasoning in the preceding sections. I shall take the liberty to go upon this supposition, though I do not pretend to be very exact as to the *quantum*; I believe it is not less than that. The benefit of this sum then, other persons, the Negro slaves, Indians, and heathenish colonies, have been deprived of; though the money was as it were collected in *their name*, or with a profession of employing it in *their service*.

Now let it be considered, how much good might probably have been done to the souls of these people, the direct, proper objects of this charity, had the aforesaid sum of 35,000 sterl. been duly applied in maintaining and propagating christianity among them, instead of being laid out to support and increase the episcopal party in those towns of New-England, in which people "had the means" of religion already, in *other protestant communions*." Forty or fifty missions might, with this sum, have been comfortably maintained among the Heathen, and in heathenish places, every year, for more than thirty years past; and a considerable number for several years antecedent thereto. It is well known that in some of the Southern colonies, there are large districts of 10, 20, 30, and 40 miles extent, and I think more, wherein there is no public worship of any kind regularly kept up, for want of ministers; in which colonies there are also many Roman-catholics and slaves. And their state, to this day, answers very exactly to the description in the charter, of those places which are therein marked out as the objects of this charitable institution. The same in general is applicable to some of our West-India islands, all which so much abound with Negro slaves.

Let us suppose then, that about one half the aforesaid sum had been employed in supporting missions and schools in those colonies, and the other half among the *Indians* bordering upon us. How much good might probably have been done, by keeping up some form of religion, and giving a *check* at least to infidelity, vice and barbarity in the former; and by propagating the knowledge of true religion amongst the latter? In what degree it might have pleased Almighty God to succeed these missions, it is indeed impossible for man particularly to say. But such an application of the money would unquestionably have been right and proper, according to the charter: And the design had at least been charitable, noble, and laudable, whatever the success had been. Nor is there any reason to doubt in general, but that some, yea, great good would have been done, if all the misapplied money had been discreetly expended in these ways. The general state of religion in those colonies would, in all probability, have been much better at this day than it is. Many persons might have been restrained from open vice and impiety; not a few brought to a serious sense and practice of religion; a great number of the Negro slaves in, and the Indians near, the colonies, brought to some hopeful knowledge of God and truth, had as many pious, and duly qualified missionaries been sent to one and the other, for thirty or forty years past, as might have been tolerably subsisted on the aforesaid sum, which has been very little, if any thing better than thrown away; yea, which many think really worse than thrown away, all circumstances considered. Nor am I either ashamed or afraid to own myself of this latter opinion; being persuaded that there is less real religion now in those parts of New-England, where it has been expended, than there would have been, had it been sunk in the
ocean

ocean instead of the episcopal gulph here : Though it is not to be supposed that any episcopalians can be of this opinion ; neither is any stress laid upon it in the present argument. But even allowing that some good has been done by converting a number of presbyterians, &c. to the church of England ; yet what sober and candid person can possibly imagine, that the common cause of christianity has been a tenth part so much served hereby, as might have been reasonably expected from a different application of this money, in ways directly and indisputably agreeable to the intent of the charter ? What the venerable Society may think of these things, I cannot pretend to say : But I know, many wise and good men think they have reason to bless God, that they are not themselves to give an account to him for such managements ; and that the blood of so many as have probably perished thereby, *will not be required at THEIR hands.*

SECTION XVII.

Farther Reflections on the Society's neglecting the Southern Colonies and the Indians ; and a particular Instance of the latter, with respect to the Iroquois, or Five (alias Six) Nations.

THOUGH I will not affirm it for truth, yet I have been very credibly informed, that the people in some of the Southern colonies, and particularly in those parts of North Carolina which were intirely destitute of ministers, have made earnest and repeated applications to the Society for missionaries to be sent to them ; sometimes without any answer at all, for years together ; and at last with-

out success. And some solid, sensible and serious persons from that country, with whom I conversed in Boston several years ago, I think gave me the same account : But whether they did or not, I know they made such a representation of their sad state for want of ministers, and expressed so serious a desire of having the public worship of God introduced among them, that at this very moment it is not in my power to refrain from tears in reflecting on it.——What they told me, at least confirms in some measure the report aforesaid, concerning the ineffectual solicitations from thence to the Society ; who perhaps had it not in their power to comply therewith, by reason of the large expence which they were at in the noble design of supporting and increasing little episcopal parties, or factions, here and there in New-England. And according to the *Abstract*, 1761, the Society had only five missionaries in the whole country of North-Carolina, while they had about thirty in New-England ; chiefly in the most populous towns of it, where a due and legal provision was made for the support of ministers, and the public worship of God !

As to the Indians ; no one can doubt but that there have been, and still are, some great discouragements in attempting to christianize them. But, according to divers appearances, the Society have had this work less at heart than that of propagating the peculiarities of episcopacy and the liturgy in New-England, in opposition to presbyterianism and congregationalism. The neglect of the Natives in America, has long been complained of, and the accusation in some sort allowed to be just by themselves, in times past. This will appear in part from Bp. WILLIAMS's sermon before the Society, 1705. “ But whilst we find *fault* with others,” says he, “ we must not forget *our own*. It has “ been the continual matter of *reproach* to us, that
“ this

“ this application to the *Natives* has been *neglected*
 “ *on our part*. Where are the numbers you have
 “ converted to the Christian faith? Where the
 “ fruits of your religion? when you have under
 “ your care those vast dominions which are called
 “ the *English empire*; and from whence you draw
 “ so much of your emoluments to enrich and
 “ pleasure yourselves at home. This is an objec-
 “ tion that *has its weight*, and perhaps is *uncapable*
 “ of a just and sufficient answer. Recriminations
 “ are but a kind of confession of guilt: And the
 “ way to answer, is, *to mend what is amiss in our-*
 “ *selves* *.”——

It is unnecessary to confirm and justify this complaint by an appeal to any of the later sermons before the Society; which would be no difficult matter. Some essays they have indeed made from time to time, towards the conversion of the Savages: but they seem to have been very faint and feeble; and with a sparing hand as to money, when compared with the goodness and importance of the work, or the difficulties to be expected in it; with the zeal of our French neighbours to christianize, or rather *popize*, the Indians, and even with their *own zeal* and expences in order to *episcopize* the Congregationalists and Presbyterians of New-England. I am not ignorant however, that they and their missionaries have frequently given the world sufficiently pompous accounts of their efforts in order to the conversion of the Indians; not to say, spoken somewhat hyperbolically of the real and great difficulties attending this work: though I doubt not but that the Society kept to the accounts given them by their missionaries; who seem to have been less indefatigable, and sooner discouraged in their labours among the Indians, than among Us. And though the following remark of Dr. DOUGLASS, a

* 1 Edit. p. 32.

very attentive and capable observer of what passed in the colonies, is not literally true of *all* the missionaries in America, yet it deserves notice here: "The missionaries from the Society," says he, "do not *in the least* attempt the conversion of the Indians, *because it requires travel, labour and hard-ship* *."

It is certain from authentic records, even from several publications of the Society, that the *Five*, alias *Six nations*, a respectable and warlike people on the Frontiers of New-York and Pennsylvania, and long the terror of all the other Indians from Florida to the north-west of Canada, have not only been our good friends and allies all along, but for more than half a century past, very favourably disposed towards Christianity; at least towards entertaining missionaries among them, which was a very important point gained. Their chiefs have even petitioned for them repeatedly; of which the Society was duly advertised by the Governor of New-York, as appears from the *Abstracts*, &c. Nor have they been *wholly* neglected by the Society; than which, it is apprehended, little more can be said, notwithstanding all that Mr. *Apthorp* has written concerning their "unwearied zeal in this attempt †." In speaking of this matter, Mr. *Apthorp* has referred to Dr. BARCLAY, now a missionary in the city of New-York; who was for a time a missionary to these Indians. It will not therefore be improper to observe a few things relative to that worthy gentleman's mission to the *Iroquois*, or *Six Nations* aforesaid, as a specimen of the Society's zeal for the conversion of the Indians ‡.

* *Summary Historical and Political*, &c. Vol. II. p. 118.

† *Confid.* p. 15, 16.

‡ The following facts relative to Mr. now Dr *Barclay's* Indian mission, are taken from the *Historical Memoirs* relating to the *Houfatonuk* Indians, and the excellent Mr. *Sergeant*, a missionary to the latter from *another Society*: By the Rev. S. *Hopkins*, A. M. a gentleman of undoubted veracity, p. 66, &c.

In the year 1738 Mr. SERGEANT, the then very worthy missionary to a tribe of Indians on our western frontiers, employed by the Boston-commissioners of the *Society for the propagation of the gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America*, incorporated Anno 1661; (a Society which pursues the true end of its institution) wrote the following letter to the Hon. and Rev. Commissioners his employers, relative to Mr. BARCLAY and his mission.—“ I had just now a letter,” says he, “ from Mr. BARCLAY, a young gentleman of Albany, lately arrived from London with a mission from the *Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts*, to the *Mohawks** West of Albany; who tells me he has but a scanty allowance (i. e. from the Society) and could obtain no salary for an interpreter, or school-master: and that he has thoughts of applying to the commissioners at Boston for assistance; but would have my advice first. I cannot tell what stock the corporation has; but I suppose it is scanty, by the allowances they afford their missionaries. However I could heartily recommend Mr. BARCLAY to the notice and favour of the commissioners. He is a worthy gentleman, and well deserves encouragement in his undertaking,” &c.

The Rev. Mr. HOPKINS, after quoting this letter in his *Memoirs*, says: “ That the reader may be sensible what a prospect there was of Mr. BARCLAY’s being eminently serviceable among the *Mohawks*, if he had been *duly encouraged*; I shall (asking Mr. BARCLAY’s pardon) show by transcribing some passages contained in his letter to Mr. SERGEANT. The following are from a letter wrote before he went for orders, and dated in his school at *Fort Hunter*, June 11,

* N. B. The *Mohawks* are a principal Tribe of the *Iroquois*, or *Six Nations*.

“ 1736.” The quotation stands thus in the *Memoirs* aforesaid.

“ I am heartily glad to hear of your success ; I
 “ pray God more abundantly to bless and succeed
 “ your labours : and may you enjoy abundant satisfaction in the discharge of your function here,
 “ and a glorious reward hereafter. I bless God I
 “ have *no reason* to despair of success in my mission. They daily become more and more desirous of instruction ; and would, in all probability, make great progress both in the knowledge
 “ and practice of Christianity, were proper methods taken to instruct them. But I labour under *great disadvantage for want of an interpreter* ;
 “ so that I cannot tell what progress they may make
 “ in knowledge, nor can I proceed regularly in
 “ my instructions ; and I must despair of obtaining a perfect knowledge of their language, without the assistance of an interpreter, which could
 “ I but enjoy *for the space of two or three years*, I
 “ doubt not but that I should be master of it ; and
 “ should take greater pleasure and satisfaction in
 “ the discharge of my duty. Nevertheless I have
 “ the comfort of seeing a *very great and daily reformation of manners among them*, which is indeed the end of all our endeavours—I am almost amazed at the progress the youth make in
 “ reading and writing their own language. All
 “ the young men from 20 to 30 years, constantly
 “ attend school when at home, and *will leave a school rather than miss*. Sundry of them write as
 “ good a hand as myself (*which was very fair and good*)—As to the *encouragement* I have, for
 “ aught I see yet, I must expect my reward in
 “ another world. I have now been here almost a
 “ year and a half, but have never received a farthing from any body. The *Assembly* voted me
 “ *thirty pounds* for two years ; but by reason of—
 “ I am

“ I am not like to get it till a Governor comes
“ over; and have no great hope of farther encour-
“ ragement from them.” [N. B. This relates to
the government of New-York.]

“ As for the *Society*, they have allowed me *thir-*
“ *ty pounds* for one year: What further encourage-
“ ment they will give me, I know not. In the
“ mean time I am at great charges. My board is
“ *six shillings* a week, which is not above half my
“ necessary expence.”

More than two years after Mr. BARCLAY had
taken *Orders*, he wrote thus in another letter dated
at Albany Aug. 21, 1740. “ I am satisfied I should
“ have much greater success, if I had a *school-*
“ *master* and *interpreter*. I had the satisfaction last
“ Lord’s day to preach to a number of the *Six*
“ *Nations*, who came to this town to treat with
“ the Governor, who also was present; and has
“ taken a great deal of pains to countenance my
“ design. My *Mohawk* congregation behaved so
“ well, that all the auditory were exceedingly de-
“ lighted. I assure you I have the cause at heart,
“ and am well persuaded of your zeal.”——

From the foregoing representation it is evident,
that a wide door was opened for the gospel to enter
among those Heathen tribes: The fields were white
unto the harvest, had but labourers been sent, and
duly encouraged to the noble work. These tribes
would probably have been in general professed
Christians before this day, had the business been
duly forwarded and encouraged. Which might
perhaps, by reason of the great fame of the *Iro-*
quois, have had a very extensive and happy influ-
ence on many other nations. But, alas! the So-
ciety, though so desirous of christianizing the na-
tives, could not afford salaries to a school-master
and interpreter, of perhaps about £. 20 or £. 30
sterling each; nor to Mr. BARCLAY himself, who

was so zealous in this good cause, half a proper support! Why not? The reason was apparently this; that they supported so many missionaries here in New-England at a great expence, for the encouragement of the episcopal party, and in order to convert us to the liturgy. If so great a proportion of their revenue had not been thus unprofitably sunk in places where God's word and sacraments were duly administered, how easy would it have been for them to support 5, 6, or more missionaries, and as many interpreters and schoolmasters, among the *Iroquois*? Mr. *Apthorp* speaking of the "promising appearance" there was among the *Iroquois* about this time, says, "—From the latest authorities—we find this mission either much dwindled, or greatly interrupted*." —No wonder, when the mission itself was so starved. The Indians doubtless perceived how remiss the English were in the cause, so that they could hardly think them in earnest; and the French jesuits, or other emissaries, no question made their advantage of this negligence. Can it be expected that missions will succeed, which are conducted after such a manner?—This specimen may perhaps serve to explain and confirm what Mr. *Apthorp* says, where he introduces the affair of the *Mohawks*;—"Indian conversions are undertaken by our Society incidentally, and as it were *ex abundanti*†." They have indeed been undertaken—as it were; but the words *ex abundanti*, methinks, sound but oddly here. And to reconcile what he immediately subjoins, with plain facts, even with relation to this very mission which he so much glories in, is impossible—"Yet," says he, "have they omitted no opportunity of pro-

* *Confid.* p. 16.

† P. 15.

"moting

“moting this pious work, as far as they found it
“practicable*.

S E C T I O N XVIII.

Of the important political ends that might have been answered, had the Society taken due care to send proper Missionaries to the Indians; and the pernicious Consequences of their Neglect.

THE author of these observations is sensible that worldly politics, and temporal things were not the direct objects of this institution; but the promotion of true religion, and the eternal happiness of men. However, these things often stand in a close connexion, and are in a measure interwoven with each other. And the Society's prosecuting that important part of their plan, the conversion of the Heathen bordering on our American colonies, would at the same time have answered very valuable ends of a political nature. This, one would think, was an *additional* obligation lying upon them to do so, instead of neglecting it for the sake of converting us to the liturgy, in the manner they have done. That such ends would, in all probability, have been answered thereby;

* N. B. There have lately been two missionaries sent to the *Six Nations* from Boston, at the expence of the *other London Society*, and the *Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge*. And the accounts received from them, as to the temper and disposition in which they find the Indians, are very encouraging, notwithstanding all the pretences, that it is a vain thing to attempt the christianizing of *Savages*. If there had been as much zeal for converting them to Christ, as there has been for converting Us to Episcopacy, the real obstacles in the way of it would have doubtless appeared less formidable than they have been represented.

and

and that this neglect has been attended with very fatal consequences in a civil consideration of things, may appear from the following remarks.

It is known that the Indian nations lie on the back of our settlements, from Nova-Scotia Northward, round to the West and South-west as far as Georgia and Florida. And had early and due care been taken by the Society to send as many missionaries among them, as could have been subsisted on the money so unprofitably sunk in New-England; it would have had a direct and manifest tendency to attach them to the British interest. Had this £. 35,000 sterl. or the greater part of it, been employed in maintaining a number of sensible, discreet ministers among the Indians, and enabling them to make them small presents from time to time, in order to gain their esteem and good-will, it might probably have been the means, not only of giving them at least some favourable impressions of Christianity in general, but of the protestant religion; and so making the greater part of them our fast friends.

And there was the more occasion for taking this course, in order to counter-act the designs of the French, till of late our dangerous enemies and rivals on this continent. They, if not from a principle of piety, yet of sound policy, have all along made a point of sending jesuits, priests and other emissaries to all the Indian tribes that would admit them. It is evident that the Society were not ignorant of these circumstances; which were well known to the British court, even before the charter was granted; and in all probability, were one reason of its being granted. It may be added, that the Society did, from the first, *profess* to have a regard to them. The following extracts from the *Account of the Society*, will serve at once to throw light upon this affair, and to render their neglect

neglect the more *unaccountable*. They say, ‘ Nor
‘ hath the Society been unmindful of using their
‘ *utmost endeavours* for propagating the gospel
‘ among the Heathen *Indians* and slaves in and near
‘ our plantations. They received with great satisf-
‘ faction a letter from the *Lords commissioners of*
‘ *trade and plantations*, directed to the Lord Arch-
‘ bishop of Canterbury, signifying, ‘ That the
“ earl of Bellamont had several times represented
“ to them the great want of some ministers of the
“ church of England, to instruct the Five Na-
“ tions of Indians on the frontiers of New-York,
“ and *prevent their being practised upon by French*
“ *priests and jesuits.*’—At the same time the
‘ Lords Commissioners imparted to his Grace, and
‘ to the Lord Bishop of London, some farther
‘ advice upon the subject—in particular this re-
‘ markable extract of what was said by One in the
‘ name of the rest of the *Sachems*—to the com-
‘ missioners for the Indian affairs in Albany, June
‘ 28, 1700—Says he, “ We are now come to
“ trade; and not to speak of religion. Only thus
“ much I must say, all the while I was here, be-
“ fore I went to Canada, I never heard any thing
“ talked of religion, or the least mention made of
“ converting us to the Christian faith. And we
“ shall be *glad* to hear, if at last you are so piously
“ inclined to take pains to instruct your Indians in
“ the Christian religion. I will not say but that
“ it may induce some to return to their native
“ country. *I wish it had been done sooner*, that
“ you had had ministers to instruct your Indians in
“ the Christian faith,’ &c. This representation,
the Society add, ‘ was laid before the Queen in
‘ council: from whence his Grace the Archbishop
‘ of Canterbury reported this order.

At the Court at St. James's, &c.

“ Upon reading this day at the Board a representation——setting forth, among other things, that as to the Five Nations bordering on New-York, lest the intrigues of the French in Canada, and the influence of their priests, who frequent and converse, and sometimes inhabit with those Indians, should debauch them from her Majesty's allegiance, their Lordships are humbly of opinion——that two protestant ministers be appointed,” &c. The Society add, “ Upon communicating this order to the Society, it was immediately agreed, that it should be referred to a committee,” &c*.

The chief design of this quotation, is to shew how early and fully the Society were apprised of the intrigues of the French with the Indians on this continent, and the importance of counter-acting their designs, in a political as well as religious consideration of things. These things they have known all along, from the very foundation of the Society. And yet, that they have done hardly any thing towards the conversion of the Indians; and either could not, or would not, allow even an interpreter or school-master to Mr. BARCLAY, is equally certain: Their object, to all appearance, having been rather the extirpation of presbyterianism and congregationism from the colonies, than the planting of Christianity among the Indians; whereby they might at once have been instrumental of saving many souls, and doing an important service to Great-Britain.

Had the Society applied the money which they have sunk in New-England, (in a way quite unauthorised by their charter) to the support of missions

* *Account, &c.* p. 38—41, printed 1706.

among the Indians, it is quite probable, as was intimated before, that the greater part of those bordering on our colonies might long since have received very favourable impressions of the Christian, protestant religion, and been amicable to us. We should of course have had a much larger share of the profitable trade with them, which has been almost engrossed by the French. And, as many of them might have been in a degree civilized at the same time, and brought into the English way of living; they would of course have taken off a greater quantity of British manufactures, and other commodities, to the national advantage. The lives of great numbers of British subjects in the plantations, destroyed by the Savages from time to time, would have been saved. The colonies which have been kept in terror, and stunted in their growth, their frontiers having often been quite cut off, or broken up, would have been in a much more flourishing condition than they are at present. And most of these Indians, instead of being at the command of the French, to cut our throats and scalp us; whenever they thought proper; might have been ready to act for us against them, on any just occasion.

These are some of the important political ends that might probably have been answered, had the Society thought proper to send missionaries among the Indians (whose conversion they have all along declared to be a principal, though not a primary object with them) instead of sinking so much money in the episcopal gulph in New-England. And when we also consider how duly they have been advertised of the French intrigues from time to time, and of the importance of counter-acting them; it is not easy to say, whether their piety or their patriotism is the most conspicuous, with relation to this part of their conduct. And, whether their
affection

affection for, and strong attachment to, the peculiarities of a *party*, are not at least as conspicuous as either of them, the reader who is not afraid to think, is left to judge from the whole series of facts and circumstances.

S E C T I O N XIX.

Of the discretionary Power of the Society, and Mr. Apthorp's Reasoning thereon.

THE ingenious Mr. *Apthorp*, to whom I must now again pay my devoirs, urges the large discretionary power of the Society, in order to vindicate their conduct. The passage to which I refer, seems to have something so very *curious* in it, that I cannot but quote it at large for the *entertainment* of the reader.

“ It is observable,” says he, “ that a *large discretionary power* is left to the Society, to regulate their institution, *and even occasionally to make ALTERATIONS* in it, in such a manner as to render it most beneficial to religion, whether in our colonies, or among the bordering nations. For this purpose, they and their successors for ever are empowered to make any laws or constitutions that shall seem reasonable, profitable, or requisite for the good estate and government of the Society, and the effectual promoting its *charitable design*. Thus, *with an evidence beyond exception*, it appears that their conduct in placing churches *AMONG US*, is in all respects CONFORMABLE to their institution*.”

* *Considerations*, p. 12.

1. It is to be observed, that Mr. *Apthorp* here refers to that part of the charter which relates to by-laws; but in quoting which (p. 10.) he has transposed some clauses and omitted others, without giving notice of it to his readers in the usual way. However, since in his own way of quoting it, there does not seem to be any very material alteration in the sense; it will not be worth while to compare the quotation and charter together, merely for the sake of shewing some of his harmless errors. But had a reputed Scholar quoted any disputed passage in LIVY, TACITUS, or CICERO, in the manner in which this gentleman quoted another part of the charter, before taken notice of; it would have been no easy matter for him ever to regain his reputation in the learned world. Whether misquoting the charter in this controversy, is not an offence of a much higher nature, is submitted to the judgment of the impartial reader.

2. It seems a pretty extraordinary position, that any incorporated Society should have power by their charter, *to make alterations in their institution*. If this Society has any such, Mr. *Apthorp* was doubtless right in speaking of it as *a large discretionary power*! For is not a power to make *alterations* in their institution, equivalent to a power to *alter their institution itself*;—to depart in a great measure from the original plan according to the charter, and to pursue ends different from those which are expressed therein? And what corporation ever had so large a discretionary power as this?

3. By laying claim to such an extraordinary power for the Society, and making use of this as an argument to justify their conduct, Mr. *Apthorp* seems to allow that they stand in *need* of it for that purpose. The gentleman surely would not have had recourse to such a supposed wonderful power vested in the Society, if their conduct could be re-

conciled with the most plain, obvious sense of the charter.

4. This is, in effect, though not expressly, a concession that the Society have actually made *alterations* in their institution: and have really been pursuing designs not expressly authorised by the charter. That this is fact, I am far from denying. But the gentleman well knows, that the questions *de facto* and *de jure*, are very different: And if he can clear up that *of right*, as plainly as I flatter myself I have and shall do that *of fact*, our debate will be half finished. But still it must be remembered, that though the Society had confessedly a power to make *alterations* in their institution, by neglecting some ends thereof particularly mentioned in the charter, and pursuing others not mentioned; yet unless they are supposed infallible and impeccable, *these alterations* may be for the *worse*. That the alterations which they have made, are for the *better*, will not follow, as he seems to suppose, from their having had a *legal* power to make them. Allowing the power, if by altering they mend their institution, they are doubtless to be praised in that respect: But whatever power they may have, if they pejorate their institution, and pursue comparatively mean and low ends, instead of the noble ones expressed in the charter, Mr. *Apthorp* will not deny but that this is an error of judgment at best, and a real abuse of their power. Whoever would fully vindicate the Society, must prove, not only that they are actually invested with such a power, but that they have used it discreetly and wisely; so as most effectually to answer the general and excellent end of their institution: To alledge *power only* in their vindication, is not giving reasonable satisfaction to those who may except against their conduct: Because even a legal power may be abused, or a discretionary power misapplied. But,

5. The

5. The charter contains no expression equivalent or similar to this, of a power left to the Society *to make alterations in their institution*. The strongest expressions used therein, relative to the power given them, are these—"The said Society shall and
 " may consult, determine, constitute, ordain and
 " make *any constitutions, laws, ordinances, and statutes* whatsoever; as also execute leases for years,
 " as aforesaid, which to them, or the major part
 " of them then present, shall seem reasonable, profitable or requisite, for, touching or concerning
 " the good estate, rule, order, and government of
 " the said corporation, *and the more effectual promoting the said charitable designs.*" Now is there any thing here, that is in the least similar to a power of making *alterations in their institution?*—or a right to apply their fund in any manner whatever, not expressed in their charter? So far from it, that,

6. The Society are, by this very part of the charter which, it is pretended, gives them such an extraordinary power, limited and confined to those ends or objects, which had before been expressly mentioned as the ends of the institution. For the power here granted them to make constitutions, laws, &c. is, in express terms, in order to "the
 " more effectual promoting *the said charitable designs.*" And what, in the name of *charity*, are they? Is any one of them, the supporting and increasing little episcopal parties and factions in those colonies, where due and legal provision was before made for the public worship of God; and where the people "had the means of religion already, in
 " other *protestant communions?*"——and this to the manifest prejudice of those colonies in which no such provision was made for the administration of God's word and ordinances;——of the Negro slaves and Savages! I ask again, whether this is

one of *the said charitable designs*? If it is, then the Society have unquestionably a right to make constitutions, laws, &c. in order to *the more effectual promoting it*: But if not, what can be less pertinent and satisfactory, than to alledge the large discretionary power given them, to justify their conduct in this respect? And how did this *inventive* gentleman come to talk of a power to make *alterations in their institution*? What that institution is, and all the ends of it, have been sufficiently explained before: And whatever they are, the Society are here confined, limited and tied down to them, as much as if they had again been enumerated in the very words of the preamble; to which the reader is referred. The Society must indeed, in the nature of the thing, if they act with simplicity and integrity in this important affair, act as to them shall seem most *reasonable, profitable, &c.* in order to accomplish *the said designs*; as other persons intrusted with a discretionary power in order to accomplish *certain ends*, must also act. But their *institution itself is fixed*, immutably fixed, by the charter; so that they have not the least power to make *alterations* in it; but only to prosecute, in the most effectual manner, the declared ends of it. And if any incorporated charitable Society whatsoever, under the pretext of a discretionary power, neglect the declared ends of their institution; and pursue others, to which their charter is a stranger, they cannot but be considered as acting contrary to the trust reposed in them: But whether wilfully, or through misapprehension, is another question; respecting which people may have different opinions. But,

7. Has not the ingenious Mr. *Apthorp* a very singular way of reasoning here? He certainly makes use of a kind of *logic*, which very few of the *un-orthodox* New England ministers learnt at

our little, young Colleges. For, having endeavoured to establish this extraordinary discretionary power of the Society to make *alterations* in their institution, as if all depended upon it; the triumphant conclusion at length comes out in the following words: “THUS, with an *evidence beyond exception*, it appears, that their conduct in placing “churches AMONG US, is in *all respects* CONFORMABLE TO THEIR INSTITUTION”—i. e. because he had made it so evident, that they had power to make ALTERATIONS in their institution; therefore they have made NONE, nor in the least deviated from it; but their conduct is in *all respects* CONFORMABLE thereto! And this, it is said, appears from the premises, *with an evidence beyond exception*——But if their conduct is thus conformable to their institution, why did Mr. *Apthorp* attempt to justify it, by asserting their power to *alter* their institution? As his argument now stands, the premises and the conclusion unluckily frown on, and militate against, each other. I have tried several ways to reconcile them; but to no purpose. I have endeavoured to suppose, that this position about the large discretionary power of the Society, was brought in only, as Mr. *Apthorp* says *Indian conversions are undertaken by the Society*, viz. “*incidentally, and as it were ex abundanti**.” But still, either the conclusion knocks down the premises, or the premises the conclusion. I have also endeavoured to suppose the ingenious gentleman’s meaning was, that the Society’s conduct was conformable to their institution, *after they had made alterations in it*, by virtue of their “large discretionary power;” not as it was *originally*: But neither can I make this bear, in several respects. The war still continues between the former and

* *Considerations*, p. 15.

latter branch of the argument : So that they must be left to fight it out betwixt them.

SECTION XX.

Remarks on Mr. Apthorp's curious Application of these Words, Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? &c. to the present Controversy.

IMMEDIATELY after the passage last quoted, Mr. *Apthorp*, that he might oblige us with some of his *rhetoric* together with his *invincible arguments*, subjoins——“ And to any one who cries
“ out on *imaginary* abuses or misapplications, the
“ Society may reply, like the good *Houſholder*
“ whose *stewards* they are, *Is it not lawful for me*
“ *to do what I will with mine own? is thine eye evil,*
“ *because I am good?* ”

Let it here be observed,

1. That whatever the Society might justly reply to those who cry out on *imaginary abuses* or *misapplications*; the same reply would not be valid or pertinent to those who cry out on *real* ones.

2. The Society are here very justly stiled *stewards*. And they were intrusted with the care of a charitable fund, not only by God, as he seems to intend, but by men; by the King, who granted their charter, and by all who have contributed to the charitable designs expressed therein.

3. A learned clergyman, like him, doubtless knows, it is “ required in *stewards* that a man be
“ found *faithful*.” Stewards are not allowed to use the goods or money with which they are intrusted, but for those ends and purposes for which
they

they are committed to them. If they knowingly apply them to any others, however good in themselves, they are unfaithful in their trust. For example, if a steward is intrusted with money by his lord, to give to particular poor persons by name, or to the poor of such a parish; and he neglects these, to relieve other persons, though equally necessitous, he misapplies the money, and abuses his trust: Much more so, if instead of bestowing it on *any* of the poor, he employs it in building and decorating an house *for himself*, and in adorning his wife, misses, or children.

4. That the Society have applied a great part of the money intrusted with them, to other, and to say the least, much less noble purposes than those for which it was committed to them, has, if I mistake not, been sufficiently proved.

5. In the very same sentence that Mr. *Apthorp* calls the Society *stewards*, he does, in effect, suppose them to be, not *stewards*, but *lords* or *proprietors*. For he supposes them to have an absolute, uncontrollable right to apply their charitable fund to whatever good uses they please. This he evidently does, by putting that reply of the *good Householder*, the *Proprietor* and *Lord* of all, into their mouths, to stop the mouths of those who cry out on abuses and misapplications——“Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with *mine own*? “*is thine eye evil, because I am good?*” This answer could with no propriety be adopted by a *steward*, when accused or suspected of abusing his trust, and alienating the money committed to him from the particular designs of it. The language is suitable only to a *proprietor*, at absolute liberty to dispose of *his own goods* as he pleases, without being obliged to give an *account* of his conduct; as the Society expressly are, by their charter——“The said Society shall yearly, and every year, give an

“account in writing,” &c. And is it not a little singular, that this argumentative and rhetorical gentleman should thus, in the same breath, make the Society both *stewards* and sovereign *proprietors* of the charitable fund in their hands? characters absolutely incompatible with each other in the same persons, and with relation to the same thing; as he applies them to the Society, “to convince the candid,” and all but “the obstinate” and “malicious;” which, he says, “is not in the power of reason.”

6. Though the members of the Society are themselves large *contributors* to this fund, it makes no material alteration in the case. Whatever they subscribe or contribute, ceases to be *their own*, their private property, as soon as it is put into this common stock. It is then no longer *their own*, to use as they please, or to alienate from the particular charitable ends mentioned in their charter. This were *sacrilege* in a much more proper sense than that, in which the episcopal clergy have termed some *other alienations* sacrilege. And supposing such an unjust thing to be *designedly* done, which I am not willing to think, the words of the apostle to ANANIAS, who kept back part of the price, &c. would be very applicable to this case——“Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? *Whilst it remained*, was it not *thine own*? —Thou hast not lied unto men [only] but unto God.”—Let me just add here, that if the eye of any one is *evil* towards the Society, possibly some better reason may be given for it than this, that they are *good*; which were, in divers respects, the worst that could be assigned:——at least, it may not be, because they are *too good* to the colonies which *most need* their charity; or to the Negroes

groes and Savages, who are the proper objects of it*.

SECTION XXI.

Of the Plea, That the episcopal Missions in the Colonies, to rectify the State of Religion in them, are a necessary Means of christianizing the Savages.

THIS is often mentioned in the *Abstracts*; and has not seldom served as a theme for popular declamation in the anniversary sermons. Mr. *Apthorp* has quoted, or at least pretended to quote, several of those sermons to this purpose. I have compared but one of those quotations with the text itself; that from the bishop of St. David's sermon (*Confid.* p. 15.) In which short quotation of but eight lines, there are three or four deviations from the usual way of quoting. Some of his own words are inserted as the words of the sermon; clauses are left out, and parts of sentences at the distance of 13 pages in quarto are tacked together, and pointed as they ought to have been if they had been contiguous in the sermon; though the pages from whence they are taken, are indeed referred to in the margin. How he has used some other authors from whom he quotes; and even that

* If the other London Society, or Scotch Society, acted thus; —neglecting the heathens, and heathenish places, to support and increate little *presbyterian* parties where due provision was made for the worship of God in the episcopal way; episcopals would hardly be satisfied with this answer, that they *might do what they would with their own*. They would be censured as bigots, influenced by the spirit of party, and perverting their fund,

great Prelate who “presides over the church of England, and the Society itself,” I have not thought it worth while to examine. He has not indeed misrepresented the sense of the bishop of St. David’s sermon; and perhaps not that of other bishops, &c. as to this point. For I know it is a usual thing for the preachers before the Society to talk in the same strain, about “remedying, in the first place, *the ill state of religion in our colonies themselves* :” without which care, it is said, the “conversion of the neighbouring Savages can hardly be effected;” and the like.

Let it be here observed,

1. That all this kind of reasoning supposes, that one principal object of the Society, is, the conversion of the Savages; and so does not well harmonize with what Mr. *Apthorp* says elsewhere, however true in point of fact——“*Indian conversions are undertaken by our Society incidentally, and as it were ex abundanti.*”

2. This reasoning seems very just, when applied to *most* of the British colonies, and the missions in them; *viz.* all those, the religious, or rather irreligious state of which, answers to the representations in the charter;——those colonies in which no tolerable provision was before made for ministers;—in which the people seemed abandoned to atheism and infidelity, or in danger of being perverted to popery, for want of the administration of God’s word and sacraments. Sending missionaries to such places as these, is doubtless one proper means of propagating Christianity among the Heathen. But,

3. Nothing can well be less to the purpose than this kind of reasoning, when applied to the far greater part of New-England, where the public worship of God was so regularly upheld, and the people “had the means of religion already, in other *protestant communions.*” Such expressions

as those, of *remedying the ill state of religion in the colonies*, and the like; when applied to the Massachusetts and Connecticut, can naturally import nothing more than reducing us to an outward *uniformity* of profession, or converting us to episcopacy and the liturgy. But supposing this to be done, it is not easy to see how it would contribute much to the conversion of the Indians. Nay, if we consider what has been done hitherto to this end, by episcopalians and presbyterians, &c. respectively; there is great reason to think that our conversion to the church of England would rather retard than promote the conversion of the Savages. And it is intimated even in some of the anniversary sermons before the Society, that the people of New-England had *provoked them to jealousy* in this respect; though hitherto, to very little purpose. Thus particularly bishop BURNET says, “ Let those
 “ who have a true zeal for the honour of *our church*,
 “ contribute to raise her glory, which hitherto has
 “ been *too little advanced this way*, while those who
 “ *divide from us in NEW-ENGLAND*, seem to have
 “ provoked us to *jealousy* on this account †.” Similar concessions to our honour, might be produced from other anniversary sermons.

4. As the conversion of the Heathen was from the first one professed aim of our Forefathers in settling in New-England; so almost all the royal charters, grants, letters patent, and acts of government in England, relative to this country, have made mention of, and encouraged, yea, enjoined upon us, the prosecution of this pious design; not considered as episcopalians, but as known dissenters from the English church. To which purpose is the following passage in the charter of this province, granted in the 3d of WILLIAM and MARY; ten years before the Society's charter——“ To dispose

† Sermon before the Society, p. 27.

“ of matters and things, whereby our subjects, in-
 “ habitants of our said province, may be religious-
 “ ly, peaceably and civilly governed, protected
 “ and defended; so as their good life, and orderly
 “ conversation may win the *Indians*, natives of the
 “ country, to the knowledge and obedience of the
 “ only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the
 “ Christian faith; which his royal Majesty our
 “ royal Grandfather K. CHARLES the first, in his
 “ said letters patent, declared was *his royal inten-*
 “ *tion*, and the *adventurers free profession to be the*
 “ *principal end of the said plantation*. And for
 “ the better maintaining and securing *liberty of con-*
 “ *science*, &c.”

5. Can it be reasonably supposed that King WIL-
 LIAM, in the Society's charter granted 10 years af-
 ter this, had the least thoughts of impowering them
 to employ a great part of their fund in converting
 us to episcopacy, and uniformity in worship, ei-
 ther as one *end* of their institution, or as a requisite
means of converting the Indians; — a pious work
 all along recommended to, and enjoined upon the
 inhabitants of New-England themselves! The
 royal charters, letters patent, grants, &c. suppose
 the settlers and inhabitants of this country, though
 not episcopalians, to have been a religious people,
 who were disposed and qualified to serve the inte-
 rests of religion, by christianizing the Indians. But
 it seems Mr. *Apthorp*, not to say, the Society, think
 that, instead of confining their pious care to the
 heathenish colonies, or applying themselves directly
 to the Indians, they are to employ a great part of
 their fund in converting us to the liturgy, as a
necessary means of converting the Savages. Is this
 such a method of justifying the New-England mis-
 sions, as must needs “ convince the candid?” —
confute all but the “ obstinate,” and *silence* all but
 the “ malicious!”

6. Upon

6. Upon supposition that our conversion to episcopacy had really some *remote tendency* towards the conversion of the Indians to the faith of Christ; (which is utterly denied) yet it may well be doubted, whether this would justify the Society in applying so great a part of their fund for the support and increase of the episcopal party here, in a country whose religious state no ways answers to the descriptions in the charter; to the neglect of other colonies, and the Heathen themselves, the direct, proper objects of their charity. Colonies whose religious state is like that of the Massachusetts and Connecticut, are implicitly excluded from any share in this charity, by the representations given in the charter, of those for which it was designed, so widely different therefrom. And to bring in these New-England missions and missionaries thus *indirectly*, or *edge-ways*, as a pretended *means* of converting the Savages, when they cannot be justified *directly*, by the express, obvious design of the charter; is no better than an evasion; and one that naturally brings to mind those words of the CHIEF SHEPHERD, so often misapplied by episcopalians—
 “He that entereth not *by the door*, into the sheep-
 “fold, but climbeth up *some other way*, the same
 “is a thief and a robber.”——Though I do not mean to call the Society’s missionaries among us, by those opprobrious names; or to give them any personal affront. But,

7. If it should be said, that *any means* which have even a remote tendency to the conversion of the Indians, may be used by the Society to that end, by virtue of their “large discretionary power;” and if it is upon this footing that the missions here are justified, let us consider how far the same way of reasoning might carry them, and where it would end. They think our conversion to episcopacy a means of converting the Indians. They are therefore,

fore, in pursuance of the maxim aforesaid, right in maintaining missions here at a great annual expence, with the hopes of thrusting in the sickle, and reaping a mighty indian harvest a century or two hence, when it is ripened by means of the benign influences of episcopacy upon New-England. Neither I, indeed, nor probably the reader, can see how this supposed means tends to the proposed end. It seems a round-about, aukward way of going to work: But no matter; the Society judge it proper, and that is sufficient. Let us then proceed one step farther. If the church of Scotland, for which we have generally a great veneration, was but first *episcopized*; this might possibly have some remote tendency to induce us to conform to the church of England; and therefore a tendency, according to the present supposition, though more remote, to convert the Indians. Now, if it should appear thus to the Society, they may, according to the maxim aforesaid, send missionaries to convert the kirk, in order to the conversion of New-England; and this in order to convert the Savages on our frontiers. With the same pious design, they might also send missionaries into Holland, Geneva, the Swiss Cantons, &c. For though the charter says nothing of Scotland, Holland, Geneva, Switzerland, or even of New-England, but implicitly excludes them all from the charitable care of the Society; yet the Society, it is said, have a *large discretionary power,—even occasionally to make alterations in their institution, in such a manner as to render it most beneficial to religion, whether in our colonies, or among the bordering nations.*—Who then can doubt the right of the Society to maintain missions in all the protestant countries of Europe, to promote the peculiarities of the church of England, in order to the establishing of episcopacy and uniformity among us; and to *remedy the ill state of religion*

religion here, without which, “the conversion of “the neighbouring Savages can hardly be effected!”——Now, where Mr. *Apthorp*’s method of reasoning, joined with such an *imagination*, may end, it is not easy to say; except perhaps in the Society’s appointing proper persons to look out for some Geese of the breed of GONSALES, to carry missionaries to the moon, in order to convert the *good man* there to the church, in order to his coming as an apostle to convert us; and all this as a *means* of converting the *Iroquois*, &c. And indeed, considering how scriptural our religion is at present; and how unlikely we are to better ourselves by so great a change, either on temporal or spiritual accounts; it may be hoped that we shall not be generally episcopized in a long time, unless that officious planet, at least by some secret and powerful *influence*, should have a considerable hand in the apostolical work of our conversion.

If this is too ludicrous for the grave reader, I ask his pardon. To be serious, is it not a surprising thing, that the Society should expend large sums annually for half a century together, in order to establish episcopacy among us, under the poor, thin pretext of its being a necessary *means* of converting the Indians?—and at the same time neglect, in so great a degree, both the Indians themselves, and those heathenish colonies, which are the proper, direct objects of their institution! Can any supposed *discretionary power*, however large, possibly justify a conduct so aliene from the obvious sense, letter, and whole spirit of their charter?

SECTION XXII.

*Remarks on a curious Argument of Mr. Apthorp, in
favour of the Church of England.*

IT was by no means my design, in this publication; to enter into the controversy betwixt the church of England and us. But as Mr. *Apthorp* has thought fit to produce an argument in favour of the former, in the margin of the 22d and 23d pages of the *Considerations*, I cannot but take a cursory notice of it. “It is a good presumption,” says he “that the church of England is a reasonable Christian communion, and free from all extremes in its constitution; that all the various religious persuasions, at home and abroad, concur in holding it *next* in esteem to their own. Considering the force of prejudice, what in every one’s judgment holds the *second place*, may be supposed to deserve the *first*.” The ingenious gentleman adds, that, “for this observation, as far as he can recollect, he is indebted to a fine writer, Dr. JOHN BROWN”——Be that as it may, I can give a guess from whence it came originally; viz. from another learned Divine of the church of England; I mean Dr. SWIFT. For in his Dedication of that curious *theological production*, intitled, A TALE OF A TUB, are these words;——“It is a maxim, that those, to whom every body allows the *second place*, have an undoubted title to the *first*.” This he applies, in the way of compliment, to Lord SOMERS.

But as to the observation itself, as applied in a compliment TO THE CHURCH; where did either of these gentlemen get his intelligence, that ALL the various religious persuasions, at home and abroad, con-

cur in holding the church of England NEXT in esteem to their own? Have they explicitly declared so? Have the churches of Scotland, Holland, Geneva, the protestant Swiss Cantons? Have the Lutheran and Greek churches, &c. &c. by any solemn public act, proclaimed the church of England *second best*? Or has Mr. *Apthorp* the faculty of discerning the sentiments of all other churches, without their declaring them? Till this fact is well established, the argument which he deduces from it may well be called a *presumption*; but, that it is a *good* one, as he says, is not so evident — There is indeed *one church*, a very ancient and extensive one, which, it may naturally be concluded, for a reason that shall be nameless, considers the communion of the church of England as the *next best* to her own. But it may well be doubted, whether one half the *protestant* churches in the world concur with her, in holding the church of England in *such high esteem*. And though this unsupported supposition were a certain fact; yet it would be no proper evidence that the church of England is a *reasonable Christian communion, and free from all extremes in its constitution*, with those who plainly see many unreasonable, unchristian, and unscriptural extremes in her constitution, worship and discipline: Which almost any man, tolerably free from the prejudices of education, may easily see; and which have, in effect, been acknowledged and lamented by many of the wisest and best men of that communion; who would have been glad of a farther reformation with respect to those *extremes**.

The

* The judicious, episcopalian Authors of the *Free and candid Disquisitions relating to the church of England*, say, “The reformation of OUR CHURCH was never brought to that perfection which the first undertakers and promoters of it intended; and which many of the worthiest of their successors have desired and pleaded for since.” Third Edit. *Dublin*, 1750. p. 246.

The gentleman, by introducing this *good presumption*, as he calls it, though without foundation, in favour of the church of England, shews at least that he had not forgotten the great and important design of the Society's missions in these parts, *viz.* propagating the peculiarities of episcopacy, and reconciling us to the church of England. *Hic labor, hoc opus est.* What success the Society and missionaries may have in this favourite project, which engrosses so much of the attention, and absorbs so much of the revenues of the former, while it is almost the sole business of the latter; God only knows. But I have good reason to think that, in general, I speak the sense of far the greater, wiser and better part of the people in New-England in the following paragraph—

When we consider the real constitution of the church of England; and how aliene her mode of worship is from the simplicity of the gospel, and the apostolic times: When we consider her enormous hierarchy, ascending by various gradations from the dirt to the skies: When we consider the visible effects of that church's prevailing among us to the degree that it has: When we reflect on what our Forefathers suffered from the mitred, lordly *SUCCESSORS of the fishermen of Galilee*, for non-conformity to a non-instituted mode of worship;

p. 246. They afterwards produce the testimony of great numbers of the most eminent bishops, and other learned men of the church of England, both clergy and lay; to support the assertion aforesaid. And they have themselves mentioned almost innumerable things, which they own to be very exceptionable in *their own church*.—They also acknowledge, p. 334. that the learned Mr. Pierce's *VINDICATION* of the Dissenters "was never answered, although somebody or other hath *at-tempted it.*"—And if they had added, that it *never will, nor can be* answered, they had not gone too far. Indeed, these *Disquisitions* themselves contain one of the fullest and most unanswerable *Vindications* of our *dissent* from the church of England, that have appeared; though *undefigned*.

which

which occasioned their flight into this western world: When we consider that, to be delivered from their unholy zeal and oppressions, countenanced by sceptered tyrants, they threw themselves as it were into the arms of Savages and Barbarians: When we reflect, that one principal motive to their exchanging the fair cities, villages, and delightful fields of Britain for the then inhospitable shores and desarts of America, was, that they might here enjoy, unmolested, God's holy word and ordinances, without such heterogeneous and spurious mixtures as were offensive to their well-informed consciences: When we consider the narrow, censorious and bitter spirit that prevails in too many of the episcopals among us: and what might probably be the sad consequence, if this growing party should once get the upper hand here, and a major vote in our houses of *Assembly*: (in which case the church of England might become the established religion here; *tests* be ordained, as in England, to exclude all but conformists from posts of honour and emolument; and all of us be taxed for the support of *bishops* and their *underlings*;) When we consider these things, and too many others to be now mentioned, we cannot well think of that church's gaining ground here to any great degree, and especially of seeing bishops fixed among us, without much reluctance——Will they never let us rest in peace, except *where all the weary are at rest*? Is it not enough, that they persecuted us out of the old world? Will they pursue us into the new to convert us here?——*compassing sea and land to make us proselytes*, while they neglect the Heathen and heathenish plantations! What other new world remains as a sanctuary for us from their oppressions, in case of need? Where is the COLUMBUS to explore one for, and pilot us to it, before we are consumed by the flames, or deluged in a flood of

episcopacy?—For my own part, I can hardly ever think of our being pursued thus from Britain into the wilds of America, and from world to world, without calling to mind, though without applying, that passage in the *Revelation* of St. JOHN: “And to the woman were given two wings
“ of a great eagle, that she might fly into the *wil-*
“ *derness*, into *her place*; where she is nourished
“ —from the face of the serpent. And the
“ serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood,
“ after the woman; that he might cause her to be
“ carried away of the flood.”

One of our Kings, it is well known, excited his Scotch subjects to take up arms against him, in a great measure, if not chiefly, by attempting to force the English liturgy upon them, at the instigation of the furious episcopal zealots of that day; by whom he was wheedled and duped to his destruction. But GOD be praised, we have a KING, whom Heaven long preserve and prosper, too wise, just and good to be put upon any violent measures, to gratify men of such a depraved turn of mind. —It is not my design, however, to dishonour the more moderate and Christian spirit of the English bishops since the REVOLUTION, particularly of this day, by comparing it to the persecuting, anti-christian spirit of many prelates, antecedent to that glorious *ÆRA* of British liberty.

SECTION XXIII.

Part of two letters of Sir WILLIAM ASHURST, Knight and Alderman, relative to the Society; with short Remarks on them.

THE author has in his hands two original letters of Sir WILLIAM ASHURST, President of the *Society for propagating the Gospel in New-England and the parts adjacent in America*; of which Dr. DOUGLASS says, “The whole revenue of the corporation is £. 500 to £. 600 sterling per Annum. At present they exhibit *small, but well-placed salaries* to several missionaries, English and Indians †.”—These letters of Sir WILLIAM were written to a person in Boston, concerning the affairs of *that Society*; but contain some strictures on the other; by which it appears how early it was suspected, that their views were not altogether so public-spirited and catholic, as might have been wished. The first of them is dated, London, August 5, 1704. and contains the remarkable words following—“We have lately had a new Corporation erected here for propagating the gospel, &c. among the *episcopal clergy*. In my last letters in March, I sent Mr. SEWALL a scheme of their proceedings. I envy not their engaging in so pious a design, but heartily wish them all imaginable success. But their *first steps discover no great deal of charity for their fellow Christians*. For they would insinuate, that We have no ministers employed in this conversion work in

† *Summ. Hist. and Political, &c. Vol. II. pag. 122.*

The Author's Father was more than 60 years a preacher of the gospel to the *Indians*; employed by the *Commissioners* of this Society.

“ America ; and therefore I cannot *expect much*
 “ *from them.* I doubt not but those employed by
 “ us are as good ministers as the *best of them*, (tho’
 “ they have not episcopal ordination) and may be
 “ fitter to be employed in this work,” &c.

The other letter bears date August 10, 1714. and contains the following passage——“ It is a
 “ great rejoicing to us, to hear from you of the
 “ success that *our* endeavours have had amongst
 “ those poor people ; [i. e. the *Indians*] and I
 “ heartily wish *the Society* you take notice of had
 “ made greater improvements of the advantages they
 “ have over us. But I am afraid God will not
 “ bless their endeavours ; they having neither *right*
 “ *ends in their view*, nor employing *proper instru-*
 “ *ments* in the work. To propagate the Christian
 “ religion *in its purity and simplicity*, is an heavenly
 “ work ; but to make it only a colour to *aggran-*
 “ *dize the hierarchy*, and to promote the interest
 “ and glory of what they call *The Church*, cannot
 “ either be called a *good work*, nor can *expect a*
 “ *blessing upon it.*”——

Whether the conduct of the Society since these letters were written, and the series of facts relative thereto, do not prove to a demonstration, that the Society have been influenced by narrow, party, unworthy views in a *great degree* ; and consequently, that Sir WILLIAM was no ill prophet, is submitted to the judgment of the intelligent and impartial reader.

SECTION XXIV.

That by the Cession of Canada, &c. there is now a noble Prospect of much being done towards christianizing the Indians, provided this good Work is heartily and discreetly prosecuted.

WHAT is past cannot be recalled, or undone : But abuses may be reformed, if the authors should be sensible of them, and not *above* altering their measures. The cession of Canada and the best part of Louisiana, if confirmed to Great-Britain, will give the several religious and charitable Societies in England, Scotland, and New England, erected for promoting the *common cause of Christianity*, advantages for spreading the gospel among the Heathen in America, much superior to what they would otherwise be. And tho' some of the *political* reasons for attempting the conversion of the Indians, may not be altogether so strong as they were, while we had the French so near us for rivals and enemies on this continent ; yet all the obligations arising from *humanity, piety* and *charity* remain in their full force. Yea, these are really heightened in the same degree that obstacles to this good work are removed out of the way. It may be naturally expected that the Indians will be more accessible and tractable to us and our missionaries, by reason of the fall of Canada, and the French power in America, than they were before, either to us or to the French ; as they will now be rather more dependent upon us. These circumstances, of such great importance to the prosperity of the British colonies, and to Great-Britain herself, may well be considered as a loud *call of Providence* to her and them, to engage

heartily in the business of christianizing the Natives: And the religious obligation hereto, increases in proportion to the prospect, or probability of success in the attempt; as was hinted before.

There is no reason to doubt, from any thing that is past, but that the Societies referred to before, *excepting one*, will be forward to improve the opportunity, and all advantages which God in his providence affords, for spreading the knowledge of his truth, and the *common salvation* among the American Savages. And so far as *words and professions* can go,—even the most solemn, and addressed to the greatest personages, there is the strongest reason to conclude that *that Society* will not neglect so fair an opportunity as is now presented to them, for propagating Christianity among these nations. For *the Society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts*, in their address to his Majesty, 1760, presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, express themselves thus—“ This Society was wisely founded by our great deliverer King WILLIAM, that the *remotest of the plantations*, by the instruction of an orthodox clergy, might be preserved from the danger of *infidelity*, and guarded against the restless attempts of *popery*; and that the pure light of the *gospel* might be spread amongst *those around them*, who sat in the darkness of *Heathenism*. The glorious acquisitions which have *enlarged your Majesty's empire in America*, open a yet more extensive field for our attention and care. And we do HUMBLY AND SOLEMNLY ASSURE your Majesty, that, so far as our ability reaches,—we will exert our utmost endeavours, that no part of your Majesty's dominions *for which our duty calls us to provide*, may remain unfurnished with the means of being instructed in *genuine Christianity*: and will GO ON” [*Quere*, Whether this should not rather have

have been, BEGIN] “ to study and *use diligently* the
“ most probable methods of *converting*, not only
“ the NEGRO SLAVES, but the neighbouring IN-
“ DIANS*.”

It is to be hoped that the venerable Society will not forget these SOLEMN ASSURANCES, as they *seem* to have forgotten others similar to them in times past; and *go on* to misapply large sums annually, for supporting and increasing the episcopal party or faction in New-England, instead of *using diligently the most probable methods of* CONVERTING *either the* NEGRO SLAVES *or neighbouring* INDIANS. If Indian conversions have hitherto been undertaken by the Society only “ incidentally, and as it “ were *ex abundanti*,” as Mr. Apthorp says; yet it may be expected that, after these protestations, they will undertake them in a different manner; with more zeal and vigour, and a less sparing hand as to money; curtailing their superfluous expences in the Massachusetts and Connecticut †, where their assistance is not needed to save us from atheism, infidelity, or popery; where

“ Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis

“ Tempus eget.”——

Or if their *memory* should be treacherous, it may be hoped there will not be wanting those about his Majesty’s person, to *remind* them of their *humble and solemn assurances* to HIM: Especially since their *non-observance* of them may prove of very pernicious consequence, not only to his American dominions, but to Great-Britain. Of which in the following section.

* Vid. *Scots Magazine: Appendix*, 1760. p. 693.

† The author has, within a few days, been informed, that in the province of *New-Hampshire* there is a legal provision made for the support of a public religion, similar to that in those two other New-England governments.

SECTION XXV.

Of the political Reasons still remaining, for endeavouring to christianize the Indians.

SOME people may perhaps imagine, that since the cession of Canada, &c. there are no motives or reasons besides merely *religious* ones, to attempt the civilizing and converting the American Indians. That the *political* ones which before subsisted, are *lessened* in some degree, is not denied; but, that they are wholly *ceased*, no one who duly considers the matter, can suppose.

To say nothing of the benefits that might result herefrom to the agriculture, fishery, and navigation of the colonies, and to the British commerce, even upon supposition that there was not a jesuit, popish priest, emissary, or one Frenchman upon this continent; it is to be remembered, that *human affairs* are subject to great changes and revolutions, as we have lately seen, particularly in America. We cannot be *certain* that others may not take place hereafter, almost as much to our prejudice, as those are to our advantage. At least, human prudence requires that every thing of that sort should be guarded against, as far as human foresight and power can do it. And one means hereof doubtless is, using the present opportunity of spreading, as far as may be, the Christian, Protestant religion among the Natives; and thereby engaging them *heartily* in the British interest, in opposition to the French.

The French are a very powerful and politic, ambitious and enterprising nation: They do not long sit down easy under *great losses*; and they soon recover themselves by peace, after being exhausted by war. In all probability, they will continue to
 carry

carry on intrigues with the Indians of Canada, and on the East of the Mississippi, by means of their emissaries, to the prejudice of our colonies; not without hopes of finding their ends in it at last—The reverend and learned EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH, D. D. HOLLISIAN * Professor of divinity at Harvard College in Cambridge, who has thought much and long on the affair of the missions and the Indians, has obliged me with two or three letters since I have been writing on this subject. In one of them (which I obtained his leave to make use of on this occasion) he speaks particularly of what has last been hinted at. And, I conceive, the best use I can make of it, is to give the public the substance of it in the Doctor's *own words*, as follows:

—“ Probably it may now be generally thought, that since Canada is reduced, nothing more is to be apprehended from the Indians; but that we shall live in perpetual peace and good neighbourhood with them. Though it may be thought a weakness, I must own, that I entertain very different apprehensions. I believe that the French, in spite of all precautions that can be taken, will continue missionaries among all those tribes of Indians, who have been used to have them; and will thrust them into as many others as they possibly can. One great business of these will be, to keep up a strong disaffection to the English in the Savages, in hopes of making use of them, at some future favourable conjuncture, to distress our provinces again, and recover their own losses. To answer such an end, the French missionaries will make no difficulty to dress and paint like Savages, and pass for as very Indians

* N. B. This *Professorship* was in great part endowed by the worthy Mr. THOMAS HOLLIS of London, merchant, some time since deceased; a very generous benefactor to our College.

“ as any of them, even in visits to our forts and
 “ frontier towns. And I know of nothing that
 “ can prevent such mismanagements, but our ha-
 “ ving missionaries among the Indians, who shall
 “ be *men of genius enough to gain their esteem*, and
 “ *the same ascendancy over them*, which the French
 “ missionaries get, wherever they come.

“ If any should be so sanguine as to flatter them-
 “ selves, that we shall never again have *a weak ad-
 “ ministration at home*, which may encourage the
 “ French to attempt to recover what they have lost
 “ in America; yet we have found by experience,
 “ when Mr. DUMMER commanded in chief, that
 “ by jesuitical influence the Indians may be spirited
 “ to make war upon us, even when the French
 “ *dare not appear* to help or abet them. And if
 “ that war had not been conducted in a manner
 “ very different from the conduct of any other war
 “ we have ever had with our Eastern tribes of In-
 “ dians, before or since; they would have been no
 “ more humbled then, than they used to be at
 “ other times; but might have continued to harass
 “ our borders, till we had been much more weary of
 “ the war than they. And if any tribes of Indians
 “ now should be set on, by secret French emissaries
 “ among them, to ravage our new settlements, and
 “ murder the inhabitants; I suspect they might
 “ *live better by it than by hunting*: And they might
 “ [perhaps] be better supplied with all they want,
 “ except money for our scalps, *by such English pro-
 “ vinces as they were pleased not to molest*, than they
 “ ever were by the French in Canada.”

The preceding extract is given, not only as very
 clearly and precisely expressing my own apprehen-
 sions; but because it is naturally concluded, that
 coming from an *aged* gentleman, of so superior
 and respectable a character as Dr. WIGGLESWORTH,

it will have a greater attention paid to it, than the same things coming only from myself could have claimed. Let me add; It is undoubted fact, that in some of our French and Indian wars, the Savages have been supplied even with *ammunition* from one or more of the British colonies: And it has been reported, I believe truly, that the cloaths of some of our people, butchered by them, have been very *amicably* sold at Albany, *with the blood upon them*.— In a word, the necessity of having a considerable number of missionaries among the Indians, is so apparent and urgent, in a political, as well as religious consideration of things; that one can hardly help entertaining some hopes that the government, either at home or in America, or both, may in their wisdom see cause to do something towards sending and supporting them: At least, that the several corporations erected in part, if not chiefly for that very end, will pursue it with a zeal adequate to the importance of it.

SECTION XXVI.

Containing some farther Strictures on the Manner of Mr. Apthorp's conducting his Defence of the Society.

MR. Apthorp's defence of the Society is intitled, "CONSIDERATIONS," &c. And though it has not been thought needful to follow him step by step; yet, I flatter myself, enough has been said to convince the impartial, that those *Considerations* were both written and published with far too little *consideration*. He began his triumph, however, or rather insult, in the title-page, by a long,

long, scornful, most contemptuous *motto*; in which he intimates, how much beneath him he thought it to enter the lists with any person, who was so hardy as to object against the Society; reproaching them all, in effect, as vain, impudent liars——“*Vanos continuò ac mendaces esse.*”——This *re-viling* motto, which serves him as an *exordium*, is from the *Evangelical Preparation* of EUSEBIUS; and on the other side of the same leaf are advertised “SERMONS ON PRAYER, with FORMS of “DEVOTION:” which we may charitably suppose designed for *general* use;——both for those who had *devotion* before, without much *formality*; and those who had *formality* enough before, without much *devotion*. Next appears his *humble submission* of his defence, to the “judgment and decision” of his venerable *Clients*, the Society, of which he is himself a *member*. In the first page (numbered 7) he proposes a question that is hardly intelligible; speaks of it as very “interesting,” and *modestly* expresses his intention to determine it “once for all;”——And this, without “the *least* intention “of offence or *controversy*,” (p. 8.) He also says there, “The proposed vindication is designed to “convince the *candid*. To confute the *obstinate*, “and silence the *malicious*, is not in the *power* of “*reason*.” But, by the way, I have always supposed that the *obstinate* were as capable of being *confuted* by the *power of reason*, as others; though much more hard to be *convinced*, or put to *silence*: And I hope that this gentleman will never serve as an example, to shew the wide difference betwixt these things, which he now seems to consider as the same. But be that as it may,

“*Quid dignum tanto feret hic PROMISSOR hiatu!*”

It appears that he was put upon this *desperate* undertaking, by something which, it seems, had offended

fended him in a news-paper, relative to the missions. And p. 9. he threatens the unknown author of a supposed insult on the *dead*, with instant destruction from his powerful quill; saying with the old Trojan Hero,

*Extinxisse nefas——, et sumplisse merentis
Laudabor pœnas——*

Considering the *occasion*, I wonder he did not adopt the next words also——

——— *Animumque expleſſe juvabit
Ultricis flammæ, & cineres ſatiaſſe meorum.*

And the following line may perhaps be proper for a motto for him, if he should again write on the subject: *viz.*

Talia jaſtabam, et furiatâ mente ferebar.

But as he was to determine the matter *once for all*, this is not to be expected.

From the 9th to the 18th page we find him chiefly employed, first in *misquoting*, and then in *misrepresenting* the charter; in putting in an exclusive claim to *orthodoxy* for the clergy of the church of England; making the Society *stewards* and sovereign *proprietors*, in the same breath; reproaching others with “great ignorance, or something worse;” reviling the religion of our Forefathers in the most opprobrious terms; and shewing how greatly our reformation in religion,——without the improvement of our *morals* or *piety*, is the work of the Society.

Having thus prepared the way, he proposes (p. 18.) “to take leave of this popular objection [against the Society] with *so full a confutation*, “that it will be *disingenuous* ever to advance it again.” How is that to be done?—Why, by “*confidently* resting his *proof* on the unexception-
“able

“able testimony of two——*Prelates* ;”——both of them members of the Society——Let us see how many *metamorphoses* they have already past through ; 1st, they were *Clients* ; 2dly, *Judges* ; 3dly, they are *Witnesses* ; and all in the same cause, *their own*. But then, they are most *unexceptionable* Witnesses “incapable either of *mistake* or *misrepresentation* in “a matter so thoroughly known to them.” And (p. 19.) he speaks of the “invincible reasons” of one of them. So that Mr. *Apthorp*’s fruitful imagination has produced another *metamorphosis*. It seems they are now neither *Clients*, *Judges*, nor *Witnesses* ; but, 4thly, *Reasoners*, pleading their own cause. What they say, whether called their *testimony* or their *reasoning*, has been taken notice of ; and others may think for themselves, whether it is *unanswerable* and *invincible*, or not.

Page 23. Mr. *Apthorp*, as well he might, makes an “apology for his undertaking to vindicate a Society, which is *above censure*, as it is *incapable of “wrong motives.”*—An extraordinary Society indeed ! And surely some *apology* was needed for officiously undertaking the defence of a Society so *incapable* of erring. So that he has, in effect, infallible *Clients*, infallible *Judges*, infallible *Witnesses*, and infallible *Reasoners* ; all on the same side with his own infallible *Self*, and all in the *same persons* ! Did ever any man undertake a more *needless* work ! He seems indeed to repent ; and “promises, in amends, to employ his *studies*, for “the future, to *better purposes*,” (p. 23.) Upon which *condition*, I think he ought to be *forgiven* ; and, all things considered, I know of none so *unlikely* to overlook his officious error, *as the Society themselves*.—But it would seem hard, not to shew some lenity to him ; especially if, as he there says, “This business, in truth, was *forced upon him*”——In such a case, whole *stars* could possibly prevent
their

their writing; if they will but make the sad case their own! This *force*, it seems, was chiefly put upon him by a Braintree gentleman, who, as he supposes, had insulted the memory of a deceased missionary; and “by the honour *done him* of sharing “in the insult;” as he has accurately expressed it. He is very severe on the said Braintree gentleman: Whom, however, I should think almost as *inhuman* and *barbarous* as he has been represented, if he desired any severer revenge on Mr. *Apthorp*, than that *he should write more* SUCH CONSIDERATIONS and DEFENCES.

Mr. *Apthorp* then passes some other *compliments* of a pretty *extraordinary nature*, however just, on the Society, “the honour of our age and nation,” &c. These might possibly, however, have come from some *other person* with as good a grace, as from a *member* of the Society; according to that old maxim, “Let another praise thee, and *not* “*thine own mouth*.” He then gives it as his opinion, that the Society “cannot better apply their “munificence than in providing *throughout our colonies*, for the *decent* celebration of public religion.” By which, according to his whole argument, he must mean planting *episcopal* churches even in those colonies, where the people “have “the means of religion already, in *other Protestant communions*.” And who can doubt, but that this is a better way of *applying their munificence*, than sending missionaries to the Heathens, or only to the Heathenish colonies, almost “abandoned to “atheism and infidelity!”

In the last page, however, he talks in a rapturous strain about “beholding this extensive country, just won to the British empire, *gradually* “*acceding*, AMONG *its numerous inhabitants*, to the “empire of JESUS CHRIST, and of consequence, “flourishing in ARTS, in SCIENCE,” &c. The
arts

arts and sciences are indeed very valuable in their places; though they do not seem to be AMONG the primary or principal of those important blessings, which flow from the knowledge and obedience of JESUS CHRIST. However, they are not to be despised. And who can doubt, but that they will be as much improved by the mission of so accomplished a Scholar as Mr. *Apthorp*, in the confines of our *College*, as the religious state of the country has been amended by the episcopal missions in general? This was perhaps one design of the charitable Society therein; that so the advancement of *learning* among us, may in time be as *greatly their work*, as the reformation of our religion is at present: I would hope, much more so——

After quoting something on this noble occasion from VIRGIL, Mr. *Apthorp* concludes with some fine lines from Mr. POPE's MESSIAH; though if he had either mentioned POPE's name, or marked them as a quotation, he might perhaps at once have been thought less a *poet* by the common people, and given ill-natured critics less occasion to tax him as a *plagiary*. Not that I myself in the least doubt his poetical talents. For even in this *didactic* performance, he has obliged us with many specimens of a singular imagination, a florid, rhetorical diction, a brisk, lively way of reasoning, marvellous turns of argument, surprising hyperboles, and divers other *licences* even in grammar, truly poetical: Nay, he has altered, not to say *corrected*, two of these lines from POPE!

[Dum malè recitas, incipit esse tuum——]

Now, from a gentleman whose prosaic, argumentative compositions are so agreeably *bemused*, what might not be expected, if he were to write poetry *in earnest*!—But it may be doubted, whether

ther he will be able to spare time from his more important concerns, to oblige the world in this way ; especially if, as some of late suppose,

—————“ his reverend mind
“ Begins to grow *right-rev'rendly* inclin'd.”—

The CONCLUSION.

WHATEVER any may imagine, the Author of the foregoing *Observations* seriously declares, that he heartily wishes Mr. *Apthorp* well ; happy here and hereafter. And if these *Observations* should contribute any thing towards *shewing him to himself*, this will not tend to obstruct, but to promote that benevolent end—

But the main end which he had in view, was much more extensive, general and important ;—that of serving the cause of truth and righteousness, of pure and undefiled religion in America ; in distinction from all private, party-opinions whatsoever. He is very far from making any pretensions to an exemption from mistakes. But as to his sincerity, and the uprightness of his intentions ; if it were expedient to make protestations in such cases, he could very cheerfully appeal to that tribunal, at which ALL are finally to appear.

Notwithstanding he is in principle and profession an anti-episcopalian ; yet he sincerely loves and honours all virtuous, candid, and moderate men of all denominations among Christians ; by no means excepting those of the episcopal communion ; with several of whom he has a personal and agreeable acquaintance, which he would be glad to keep up : Nor would he willingly and unnecessarily give offence to any person of that persuasion.

K

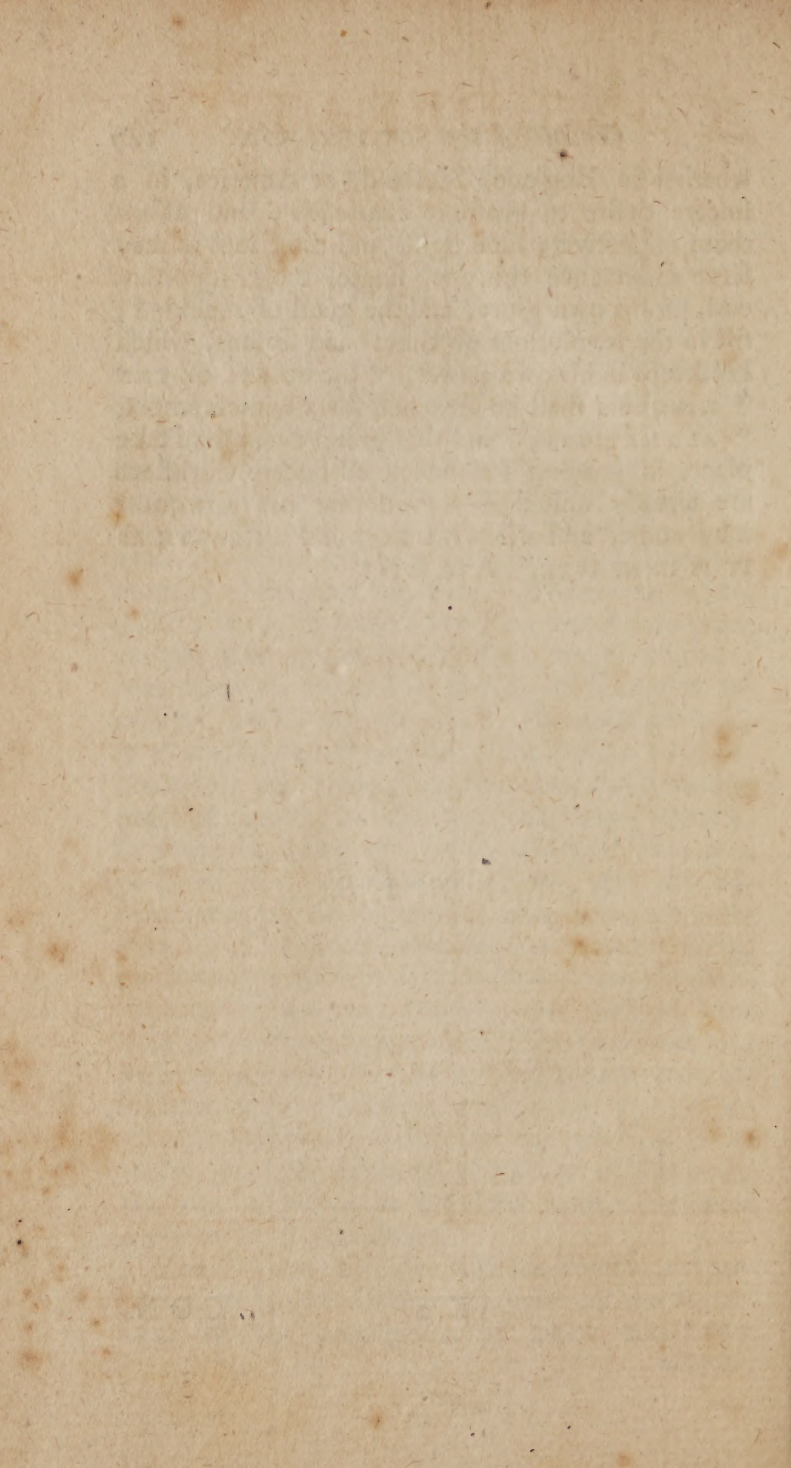
Though

Though he wishes the people of New-England to stand fast in the liberty wherewith CHRIST hath made them free; and not to return under that yoke of episcopal bondage, which so miserably galled the necks of our Forefathers, that they were not able to bear it, and therefore took refuge in America; yet he is far from desiring to inflame the passions of any one sect or party against another: So far from it, that he would sincerely rejoice to be in the least degree instrumental of uniting them in the bonds of Christian charity, on the true plan of the gospel. In order to which, he cannot think an exact uniformity either in *sentiment*, or in modes of *worship* and *discipline*, necessary. The former is impossible in this imperfect state, on divers accounts; and the *latter* not to be expected, unless in countries where the invaluable blessing of liberty is sacrificed to a far inferior object. Zealous attempts to establish an exact uniformity in religion, have generally, if not always, proved pernicious to the peace of society, to christian charity and morals, in a very high degree: All ecclesiastical history is a proof of this. Such an uniformity, and the advancement of the hierarchy, have too apparently been favourite objects with the SOCIETY all along, particularly as to New-England; while the Heathenish colonies, the poor Negroes and Indians have been proportionably neglected. And to what one valuable purpose?—unless causing alienation of affections, and animosities among us, can be accounted such!—And these are the principal fruits which, considering the religious state of this country, can in reason be expected from a continued prosecution of this design.

The Author concludes with his humble and earnest prayers, that God would unite all the SOCIETIES for the propagation of TRUE RELIGION,
whether

whether in England, Scotland, or America, in a sincere desire to promote *that alone*; and afford them respectively such lights and directions as may serve to advance this one, single, most important end, to his own glory, and the good of mankind; till in the revolutions of times and seasons, which He keeps in his own power, “the GOSPEL OF THE
“KINGDOM shall be preached for a witness among
“ALL NATIONS;” and that grand event shall take place, in praying for which all sincere Christians are already united;—even that HIS KINGDOM may come, and HIS WILL BE DONE ON EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN. AMEN!

F I N I S.



CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
INSTITUTION AND CONDUCT
OF THE
SOCIETY
FOR THE
PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL
IN
FOREIGN PARTS.

By *EAST APTHORP*, M. A.
MISSIONARY AT CAMBRIDGE.

Cum res *illi* suas, quibus utique notiores eæ sunt, accurate planeque doceant; *hi* vero quasdam tantum iis de rebus suspensiones, quas minime perspectas habent, in absurdas ac futes disputationum ineptias conferant: *utris* obsecro fidem habendam esse ratio suadeat? imò, indignum certe fuerit, vel hoc quærere. Vanos continuo ac mendaces esse, qui eas respuunt, necesse est.

EUSEB. Præp. Evang. l. III. c. 15. ex vers. Vigeri.

BOSTON, in NEW-ENGLAND, printed:
LONDON, reprinted for W. NICOLL, in
St. Paul's Church-Yard.
M DCC LXIII.

TO HIS GRACE
T H O M A S

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

A N D

P R E S I D E N T

T O T H E

V E N E R A B L E S O C I E T Y

F O R T H E

P R O P A G A T I O N O F T H E G O S P E L

I N

F O R E I G N P A R T S,

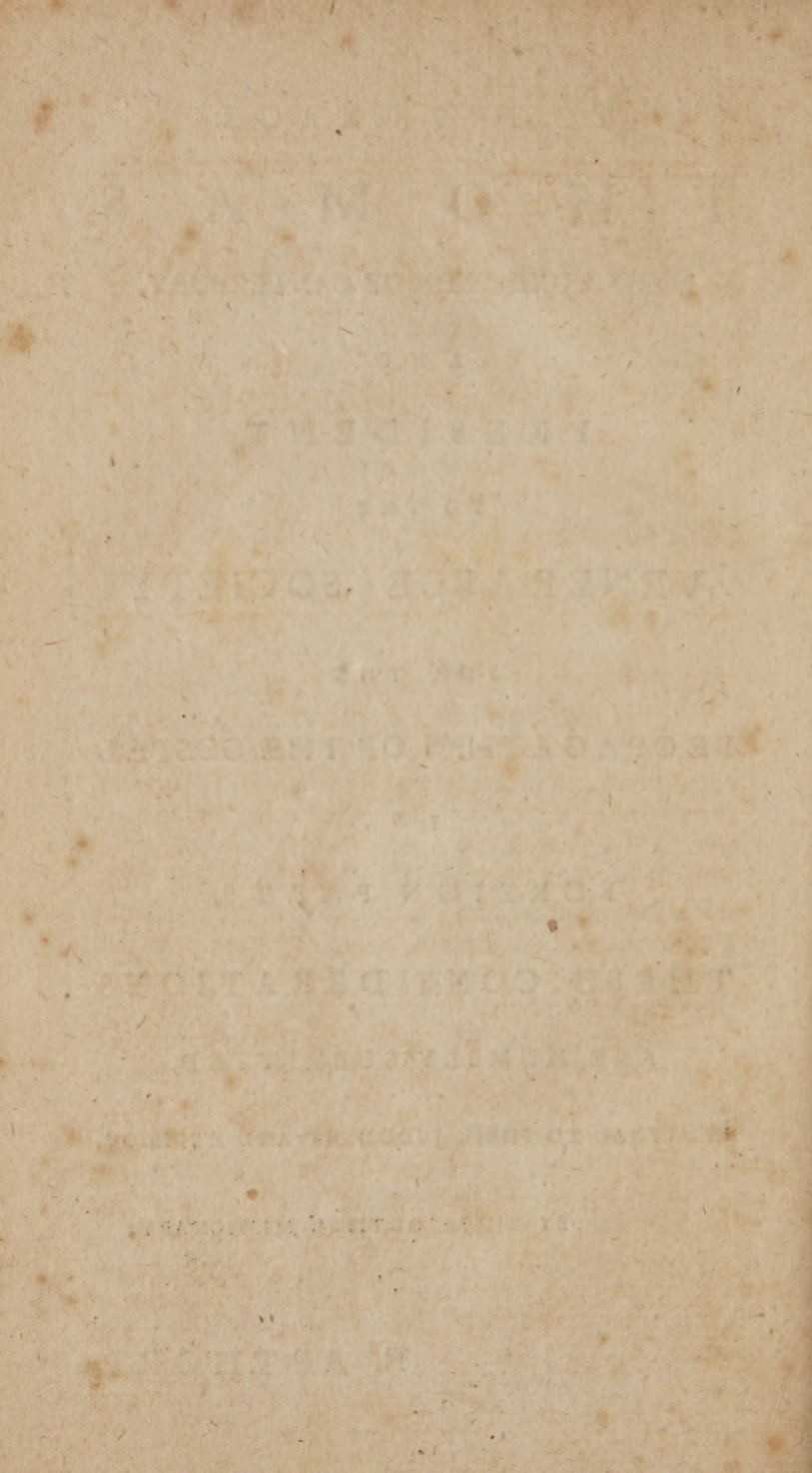
T H E S E C O N S I D E R A T I O N S

A R E H U M B L Y S U B M I T T E D,

I N A P P E A L T O T H E I R J U D G M E N T A N D D E C I S I O N,

B Y T H E I R D U T I F U L M I S S I O N A R Y,

E. A P T H O R P.



CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

INSTITUTION AND CONDUCT

OF THE

SOCIETY, &c.

WHETHER the Society *for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts* conform to the design of their incorporation, by maintaining episcopal churches in the settled Towns and Villages of *North-America*: or whether they have not misapplied a fund originally *limited* to the conversion of Heathens: is a question so interesting to the Missionaries and their congregations, that the impartial Public will not be unfavourable to an attempt to determine it, *once for all*, by authentic vouchers. Should this supposed misapplication evidently appear; every honest Missionary must be anxious of the propriety and right application of his services as a minister of the Gospel. But if, from the whole history and proceedings of the Society, it shall appear, that their *direct* and *immediate* object is the propagation of the Gospel in our Colonies and Plantations: the Society will be vindicated from a popular objection; and the Missionaries will be intitled to that candid opinion, and fair acceptance of their labours, which is due to their integrity and diligence.

Whatever

Whatever shall be advanced in these papers is far from the least intention of offence or controversy. The writer sincerely honours Virtue in whomsoever; and is persuaded, that Good Men of all communions co-operate in promoting the end of Christianity. The proposed Vindication is designed to convince the Candid. To confute the obstinate, and silence the malicious, is not in the power of Reason. Yet to calumniate the living, and insult the dead, whose intentions can only be scrutinized at the supreme tribunal, is an outrage that deserves the public detestation: and, in a late instance,

etsi nullum memorabile nomen—

—nec habet victoria laudem:

Extinxisse nefas tamen, et sumplisse merentis

Laudabor poenas—

All the proceedings and the whole history of the Society invariably represent it, as first intended to benefit the *English* subjects; and then, as an opening should be made, the *Africans* and *Indians*.

The CHARTER, granted by King WILLIAM III. in 1701, thus expresses the design of their incorporation. ‘Whereas, in many of the *English* plantations, colonies, and factories beyond the seas, the provision for Ministers is very mean; and many others of the said Colonies are wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for Ministers and the public worship of God: and for lack of support and maintenance for learned and orthodox ministers, to instruct our loving SUBJECTS in the principles of true Religion, many of our said subjects do want the administration of God’s word and sacraments: We think it our duty to promote the glory of God, by the Instruction of *our People* in the Christian Religion: and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those ends, that a sufficient maintenance

‘ nance be provided for an orthodox clergy to
 ‘ LIVE AMONGST THEM : and that such other pro-
 ‘ vision be made as may be necessary for the pro-
 ‘ pagation of the Gospel in those parts.—We
 ‘ have, for the considerations AFORESAID, and
 ‘ for the better and more orderly carrying on the
 ‘ said charitable purposes, constituted and appoint-
 ‘ ed a Society—the major part of whose mem-
 ‘ bers present at certain meetings, may consult, de-
 ‘ termine, and make ANY CONSTITUTIONS, LAWS,
 ‘ AND STATUTES WHATSOEVER, which to them
 ‘ shall seem reasonable, profitable or requisite, for
 ‘ the good estate, rule, order, and government of
 ‘ the said corporation, and the more effectual pro-
 ‘ moting their charitable design.’

From these paragraphs we may deduce the following certain conclusions. 1. That the *primary* intention of this Society was, to maintain a public Religion in the *English* Colonies, among the natural subjects of *Great-Britain*; and to provide a maintenance for an orthodox clergy; which (as the charter was obtained by the members of the Church of England) must, in all reasonable construction, mean a clergy of their own church. The reason of the support of that clergy, is for the instruction of *our own people* in the Christian Religion, and that they may *live amongst them* as their settled and resident Ministers. This is the primary and main intention of incorporating that Society: *viz.* the maintaining Episcopal Ministers in the Colonies, for the support of public worship among the *English* subjects in their own Provinces, in the most populous and settled parts of the continent, where they may be most useful.

2. Their *secondary* design is expressed in very large and indefinite terms: ‘ That such other provision may be made, as may be necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts:’ that is,
 in

in any of the English colonies or plantations, with no particular restriction to the *Indians* of this continent, who are *not once mentioned* in the whole charter: which only implies, that the Society should discretionally improve all favourable opportunities, of disseminating the Gospel among such Heathens as could be induced to receive it. Thus far it appears, ‘ that the *first* and *principal* end of this corporation is, not to plant Christianity among Heathens, but to restore or preserve it among Christians: and that the converting Heathens is a *secondary* incidental point. For as our colonies are settled in Heathen countries; it is not unlikely, that if we can preserve Religion among our own people, many of the Heathens will be the better for it *.’

3. It is observable, that a large discretionary power is left to the Society, to regulate their institution, and even occasionally to make alterations in it, in such a manner as to render it most beneficial to Religion, whether in our colonies, or among the bordering nations. For this purpose, they and their successors for ever are impowered to make any laws or constitutions that shall seem reasonable, profitable or requisite for the good estate and government of the Society, and the effectual promoting its charitable design. Thus, with an evidence beyond exception, it appears, that their conduct, in placing Churches among us, is in all respects conformable to their Institution; and to any one who cries out on imaginary abuses or misapplications, the Society may reply, like the wise and good householder, whose Stewards they are, ‘ *Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? is thine eye evil, because I am good?*’

A few reflections will shew the use of this appeal to the first constitution of the Society.

* *Dr. STEBBING's Sermon. 1742. p. 18.*

In the first place, it argues great ignorance, or something worse, to misrepresent them as deserting their plan and institution, by settling Episcopal Churches in the English governments. By maintaining such Churches and their resident Ministers in the very heart and bosom of our Colonies, in the most settled Provinces and most populous Towns; they keep to the primary and main intention of their Royal Founder; a Prince whose name is equally dear to Protestants of all communions. The mistakes on this matter, in this country and province, whether wilful or ignorant, have arisen from a partial and *imperfect* idea of the object of the Society. The objection represents their *secondary* and *incidental* design as their *sole* business; whereas, in truth, the *Indian conversions* are only *subordinate* to their principal most excellent and comprehensive object, that of giving *all* the British subjects on this vast continent the means of public Religion. If it be said, they have the means of Religion already, in other Protestant communions, this is not universally true: or wherever it happily is true; this brings us back to the claim of Liberty of Conscience. The means of public Religion are NO MEANS to him whose Conscience cannot use, or does not approve, them: no more than Popery or Mahometanism afford the means of Religion to a good Protestant, who happens to reside in Popish or Mahometan countries.

The mistakes on this subject have been made to appear very plausible, by citations from the Sermons of the Society, expressing the most tender solicitude for the Heathen nations, and projecting the means and methods of converting them. This noble topic, of the extension and universality of Religion, has been managed by the preachers of the Society with great accuracy and erudition: and a theme so interesting and magnificent, could not but

but engage their frequent regard. But it is never so managed, as to exclude or undervalue their primary and only *practicable* object, of establishing Churches in the English Provinces. Even while they most earnestly recommend all endeavours for the *effectual* conversion of the bordering savages; they never lose sight of their ‘principal aim, of
 ‘remedying in the first place the ill state of Religion in our colonies themselves: and this with
 ‘good reason, not only because most of the people
 ‘here are of *British* extraction; and all of them
 ‘their Fellow-subjects; but without this care, the
 ‘conversion of the neighbouring savages can hardly be effected*.’

But although the *Indian* conversions are undertaken by our Society incidentally, and as it were *ex abundanti*: yet they have omitted no opportunity of promoting this pious work; as far as they have found it practicable. In the very infancy of their incorporation, an attempt was made to plant Christianity among the *Mobocks*. The narrative of their mission to the *Iroquois* is extremely curious and useful: but too long to be transcribed†. The ill success of a design so well concerted, and encouraged by the piety of Queen ANNE, proves to a demonstration, the impossibility of making any *fixed* impressions of Religion on the minds of these military savages. Yet their unwearied zeal in this attempt was not checked by the disappointment. They continued this mission, after some interruptions, and the care of the *Mobocks* was committed to a gentleman‡ particularly and eminently qualified for this difficult work. It appears from the abstracts of the Society’s proceedings, that ‘in

* Bp. of St. David’s Serm. 1759. p. 4. 17.

† See Dr. HUMPHREY’s hist. of the Soc. ch. xi.

‡ Dr. HENRY BARCLAY, now the worthy rector of Trinity-Church, in *New-York*.

‘ 1742 there was a regular sober congregation of
 ‘ Five hundred Christian *Indians*, and a daily in-
 ‘ crease of virtue and good manners among them.
 ‘ This,’ says Dr. STEBBING *, ‘ is a thing by no
 ‘ means to be despised : and how know we but
 ‘ these small beginnings may be the foundation of
 ‘ some great work, to be accomplished in God’s
 ‘ due season ?’ Similar accounts are continued for
 some years after. But notwithstanding this pro-
 mising appearance, from the latest authorities, that
 have come to our hands, we find this Mission either
 much dwindled, or greatly interrupted, ‘ the * Mo-
 ‘ hock’s River having been in 1758 a scene of all
 ‘ the horrors of war.’

That the state of Religion among ourselves is now
 so much superior to what it was, when the Missions
 were first appointed, is, under God, so greatly the
 work of the Society, that to give this Reason for
 withdrawing their protection from our Churches, is
 to make the success and benefit of their design, an
 argument against it.

Every one who knows the history of this Coun-
 try must acknowledge, that in many respects the
 Religious State of it is manifestly improved : not-
 withstanding the immoralities and defects which
 we lament, and wish to reform in the present man-
 ners and principles. Religion no longer wears
 among us that savage and gloomy appearance, with
 which Superstition had terribly arrayed her : its spe-
 culative doctrines are freed from those senseless hor-
 rors with which Fanaticism had perverted them :
 Hypocrisy has worn off, in proportion as men have
 seen the *beauty of Holiness* : and above all, that ex-
 terminating monster Persecution, is itself extermi-
 nated both from the temper and practice of the
 age. Much indeed remains to be done in Manners

* See his Sermon, p. 20. and Abstract, 1742. p. 48.

† Abstract for 1759, p. 61, 62.

and Piety: and to this good work the united efforts of all Parties, are no more than sufficient. The Society and the Church of England it is hoped have not, and will not, be wanting in their most strenuous Endeavours to promote practical Religion. This is and ever hath been their Object; and solely in the view of *successfully* pursuing it, have they so liberally and extensively supported a public Religion in our Colonies. And it is reasonably hoped, that the candid and impartial will not impeach their Conduct, for what is most laudable both in its intention and effects.

But to take leave of this popular objection, with so full a confutation, that it will be disingenuous ever to advance it again: the writer confidently rests his proof on the unexceptionable testimony of two most candid and truly christian Prelates, who had both of them the best opportunities of being well informed, and were incapable either of mistake or misrepresentation in a matter so thoroughly known to them.

The first is that amiable Lover of Mankind, Bishop BERKLEY, whose life, studies, and great abilities were employed in improving the manners and prosperity of his Fellow-creatures. In his most instructive Sermon before the Society, 1731, the Bishop speaks of America, as their peculiar Province; and mentions himself as “one who had
“resided a considerable time in one of our Colo-
“nies, in this very view of informing himself of
“the state and progress of Religion.” “In order
“to propagate the Gospel abroad, it is necessary
“we do it at home: the influence whereof would
“soon reach our foreign *plantations*, and extend
“throughout their *borders*. It should seem, that
“the likeliest step towards converting the Heathen
“would be to begin with the English. The Mis-
“sionaries do good service in bringing *them* to a
“serious

‘ serious sense of Religion ; which it is hoped will
‘ in time extend to others.’ P. 21, &c.

This testimony is still more expressly supported by that of the excellent Prelate, who now so worthily presides over the Church of *England* and the Society itself. In his Sermon, 1741. he thus fully *obviates* all those objections, which even his great authority and invincible reasons have not been able to *silence*.

‘ To carry on the great work of directing man-
‘ kind to present and future happiness, is the end
‘ of this Society : incorporated, FIRST for the *sup-*
‘ *port* of Christianity in our colonies and factories
‘ abroad ; THEN, for the *propagation* of it among
‘ the Heathens ; but taking its name from the *re-*
‘ *moter* and more extensive part of the design.
‘ Every possible reason required our predecessors to
‘ begin with inspecting the state of the English
‘ plantations in America. The Society therefore
‘ first sent over Missionaries to perform the offices
‘ of Religion amongst *them*. The *next* object of
‘ their concern were the poor Negroes. There
‘ still remains another branch of the Society’s care,
‘ the *Indians* bordering on our settlements. But
‘ after all precautions, it cannot be an easy work,
‘ to convert nations whose manners are so unculti-
‘ vated, whose languages are so different, so hard
‘ to learn, and so little adapted to the doctrines of
‘ Religion ; and who seldom continue long enough
‘ in the same place, to let any good impressions fix
‘ into habits*.

' A com-

* It will be worth the Reader's while, to consult Dr. HUMPHREYS's account of the Mission to the *Iroquois*. Hist. of the Soc. ch. xi. When the Gospel is introduced among Barbarians, by the power of Miracles; it has a great influence in civilizing them: And actually had that effect; as we learn from many instances in Ecclesiastical history. See the fine reflections of EUSEBIUS on that subject; præp. Evang. l. i. c. 4. but Religion

' A common benefit of propagating Christianity
 ' in our Colonies, is that thus we shall hinder *cor-*
 ' *rptions* of Christianity from prevailing there.
 ' Many pernicious errors took early root in these
 ' provinces: some, dissolving the obligation of
 ' moral duties: some, destroying the inward peace
 ' of pious and good persons, by making life gloom-
 ' y and uncomfortable: some, leading men to
 ' ascribe every folly or wickedness, that possesses
 ' the fancy, to divine inspiration *. Hence, the
 ' importance of supporting instructors in *true* Re-
 ' ligion, were it only for a standing guard against
 ' the inconveniences of *false* Religion. P. 19. 21.

' An objection to the Conduct of the Society,
 ' is that they have sent Missionaries to some places,
 ' in which there were already Christian assemblies
 ' established and supported. But in the *least* ex-
 ' ceptionable of these Assemblies, there are several
 ' things, which the consciences of many (we ap-
 ' prehend, with great reason) cannot acquiesce in;
 ' who were not therefore to be left destitute of pu-
 ' blic worship; especially as our Charter was
 ' granted in express terms, *for the maintenance of*
 ' *an orthodox clergy in those parts*; p. 34. We
 ' have obtruded the service of the Church of Eng-
 ' land no where: we have settled no Clergyman
 ' any where, without the inhabitants requesting it,
 ' and contributing to it: we have sent no successor,
 ' upon a vacancy, without their renewing that re-
 ' quest. But if the provision, which we have
 ' made for the people of our communion, hath
 ' proved instrumental at the same time to bring
 ' others over into it: we hope there is very far
 ' from being any harm done. Indeed, *unity* of

gion in the *ordinary* method of teaching, presupposes a capacity
 and willingness to receive and retain its impressions, and to so-
 lemnize its Rites and Worship, which are incompatible with
 barbarous manners.

* See Dr. HUMPHREYS's hist. ch. ii.

‘ profession amongst ourselves, effected by methods of *Peace* and Charity, will greatly recommend our Religion to the infidels ; who else may be tempted to continue as they are, for want of knowing with whom to join. There can be no teaching at all, but in some particular form. We think our own the best*. Every body thinks it far from the worst. At least, our converts will have the Bible put into their hands, to judge for themselves.’ P. 35.

The Reader will not only pardon but thank me for this long extract, the reasoning of which is so close, yet so candid, that it must convince every ingenuous person, and supersedes whatever might be added on this subject. The writer would only suggest a short apology for his undertaking to vindicate a Society, which is above censure, as it is incapable of wrong motives in the application of its liberality. This business, in truth, was forced upon him, by the frequent recurring of this topic both in print and conversation, and by the honour done him of sharing in the insult offered to the late Dr. MILLER of *Braintree*. He promises, in amends, to employ his studies, for the future, to better purposes : and, in conclusion, adds his private opinion ; that this truly *Christian* Society, the honour of our age and nation, cannot better apply their munificence, than in providing, throughout our Colonies, for the decent celebration of public

* It is a good presumption that the Church of England is a reasonable Christian Communion, and free from all extremes in its constitution ; that all the various Religious persuasions, at home and abroad, concur in holding it next in esteem to their own. Considering the force of prejudice, what in every one’s judgment holds the Second place, may be supposed to deserve the First. For this observation, as far as I can recollect, I am indebted to a Fine writer, Dr. JOHN BROWN, author of the excellent *Essays on the Characteristics*, of an *Estimate of the manners*, &c. and of some elegant and classical Poems.

Religion. A Protestant Country, in such a Climate as ours, cannot well be overstocked with Churches, and resident Ministers. The different persuasions need not interfere with each other: they may even act in concert, as to the main end in view, that of promoting the Christian Faith and Virtue. And how rapturous is the prospect to the true Patriot, who unites his views of Policy with those of Religion; to behold this extensive Country, just won to the British empire, gradually acceding, among its numerous inhabitants, to the empire of JESUS CHRIST, and of consequence flourishing in Arts, in Science, and in Liberty, both civil and religious!

Aspice, venturo lætentur ut omnia sæclo.
 O mihi tam longæ maneat pars ultima vitæ;
 Spiritus et, quantum sat erit TUA dicere facta!
 Aggredere, ô magnos (aderit jam tempus) honores,
 CARA DEI SOBOLES! —

VIRG. Pollio.

Hark! a glad voice the lonely desert hears;
 PREPARE THE WAY! a GOD, a GOD appears.
 All crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail;
 Returning Justice lift aloft her scale;
 Peace o'er the world her olive wand extend,
 And white-rob'd Innocence from heaven descend.
 No more shall nation against nation rise,
 Nor ardent warriors meet with hateful eyes.
 See, barbarous tribes, shall at thy gates attend,
 Walk in thy light and in thy temple bend.
 For fix'd thy word, thy saving power remains:
 Thy realm for ever lasts, thy own Messiah reigns.

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